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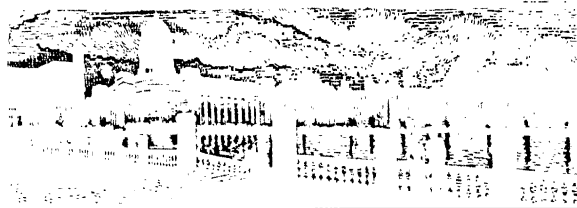
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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



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WILLIAM HODGES, R.A.
From the Engraving by William Daniell, R.A.
of a Drawing by George Dance, R.A.

William Hodges, R.A., in India.

FROM the notice of William Hodges given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* we learn that he was born in London (1744) in very humble circumstances. He was the only child of a smith, who kept a small shop in St. James's Market (the site of which is now covered by the Criterion Restaurant, the contiguous part of Lower Regent Street, and the houses to the west of this, between Jermyn Street and Piccadilly Circus). The boy managed to acquire some knowledge of drawing while employed to run errands for Shipley's drawing school, in the Strand; and, his ability having been noticed by Richard Wilson, R.A., that artist took him as a pupil and assistant. After leaving Wilson, Hodges spent some time, first in London and then at Derby, where he did some scene-painting for the local theatre. He had now found his legs as a painter, and between 1766 and 1772 he exhibited pictures at the Society of Artists. Next he obtained the post of draughtsman to the second expedition to the South Seas under Captain Cook, which occupied him until 1775; and after his return his employment was continued for some time by the Admiralty to finish his drawings and superintend the engraving of them for the published account of the voyage. In 1776 and the following year he sent pictures to the exhibitions of the Royal Academy. Evidently, however, he found his profession insufficiently lucrative; and, having lost his first wife, whom he had married in 1776 (1), he determined to try his fortune in India. On 28th October, 1778 the Directors gave him permission to proceed to that country as a painter; and a month later James Stuart, of Leicester Square, and John Whitmore, of Bolt Court, Fleet Street, were accepted as his securities in £1,000.

By what ship Hodges went out I have not succeeded in discovering; but he seems to have reached Madras early in 1780, for the list of inhabitants at that place, dated 28th February in that year, gives 1780 as the time of his arrival. Madras itself affording few subjects for his brush, he planned an excursion into the interior. In this he was disappointed by Hyder Ali's sudden irruption into the Carnatic; and after waiting some time and finding no likelihood of the war ceasing, he embarked in February, 1781 for Bengal with the idea of returning to England. His chief reason for deciding to go home seems to have been that his health had begun to fail. However, a short stay in Calcuta proved so beneficial in this respect that he changed his mind and remained; induced thereto partly by the fact that he had found

(1) Hodges was married first, on 11th May, 1776, to Miss Martha Nesbit, who died in childhood within a year; second, on 16th October, 1784, to Miss Lydia Wright; and third, to Miss Carr, who was "much beloved and praised by Romney." By his third wife, who died shortly after him, he had five children.

warm friends in Thomas Henry Davies, the Advocate-General, and in Warren Hastings, to whom he brought a letter of introduction from John Macpherson (2). During the rest of Hodges' stay in India the Governor-General proved at once a steady supporter and a munificent patron.

The artist certainly made the utmost use of all the opportunities afforded him. In April, 1781 he went by way of Murshidabad to Monghyr; and this excursion, besides introducing him at Bhagalpur to Augustus Cleveland (with whom he stayed for some time), gave full employment to his busy pencil. Soon after his return to Calcutta, Hastings set out on his memorable journey to Benares, and Hodges was allowed to make one of the party. He shared in the flight to Chunar that followed the outbreak at Benares; and he returned to that city with the Governor-General at the end of September. The party quitted Benares towards the close of the year and reached Bhagalpur early in January, 1782. There the painter took leave of Hastings, and remained for four months with Cleveland, exploring the country round and painting diligently. Cleveland patronised the artist as lavishly as Hastings himself; and when, after his premature death, his effects were sold in Calcutta, no less than twenty-one paintings by Hodges were included (3).

Hodges returned to Calcutta in the middle of May, 1782. There the heat caused a fever, which incapacitated him for a time, and it was not until the cold weather came that he recovered sufficiently to resume his occupation. He then obtained permission to proceed to Agra and Delhi, an opportunity offering by reason of the despatch of Major Browne on a mission to Mirza Shafi Khan, the Emperor's chief minister. From the letter quoted later it would seem that Hodges was given what he calls a salary during this journey; but no information on this point has been discovered in the records. He travelled by way of Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore and Lucknow to Etawa, where he joined Major Browne's party. The Khan was found in the neighbourhood of Agra; and during the time spent by Browne in conference with him, Hodges explored the surrounding country and made many sketches. Finding that no opportunity was likely to occur of visiting Delhi, the painter left Browne towards the end of April and proceeded to Gwalior, where he met David Anderson and his brother James, engaged in negotiating with Sindia. The Andersons were already acquainted with Hodges, for they had been in Hastings' suite at Benares, and they now treated him with great kindness. He was, however, suffering from the results of exposure to the sun and, after remaining ten days at Gwalior, he continued his journey to Lucknow, where Colonel Claud Martin took him into his

(2) Sydney C. Grier, *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 121.

(3) See advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 9th January, 1794, where they are described as follows:—"Hill and Lake of Ture; Hill Mundar; Mooty Jurna waterfall; Bejy Gur; Rajmahal; Peer Pahar Hill, Monghyr, Monghyr Fort; Jehangeira Fort; Sickergully; another view of the same place; Oodooa Nullah; Byjenath or Deo Gur; Rocks in Jungleterry; Bhagulpore Nullah and Mosque; Tomb and distant view of Rajmahal Hills; a Dirghah; Lake Jungleterry; Hill of Ture; a Banyan Tree; Lake Jungleterry and a thunderstorm; Bhagulpore House, distant view."

house and nursed and doctored him back to health. Quitting his kind host in the middle of July, the artist proceeded to Benares, Buxar (whence he made an excursion to Sasaram to sketch the mausoleum of Sher Shah), and Bhagalpur. At that place, to his great grief, he found Cleveland suffering from the illness which proved fatal a few months later. Hodges himself reached Calcutta on 24th September, 1783, after an absence of nine and a half months.

He now contemplated a still more ambitious project, namely, an expedition right across India to Surat: but he found that the expense of such a journey would be beyond his means and so the idea was given up. He decided to return to England. A passage was secured in the *Worcester*, which was to carry home Sir Elijah Impey and his family. Hodges embarked at Kalpi on 26th November; Impey came on board lower down the river on 7th December; and the vessel sailed from Sagar Roads two days later. She reached the Downs on 10th June, 1784.

Before quitting Calcutta, Hodges addressed the following letter to the Governor-General (4):—

HON'BLE SIR,

As the time approaches on which I have fixed for my departure to Europe, I cannot be so near leaving this country without tendering you my humble but most sincere acknowledgements and thanks for the honor which you have done me and the flattering, as well as very useful encouragement which you have afforded me in my profession as a painter. It has been, and is, in the good fortune of gentlemen who have come to Bengal and could be in any shape instrumental in improving the arts which have advanced the English nation to a summit of particular distinction among the states in Europe, to receive the honor of your patronage and attention; but the favour which you have shewn me (and happy should I be, could I be brought to suppose myself deserving) has been particularly distinguished. I have also the honor to be much indebted to the gentlemen of the Council for their employment of my poor service at your recommendation in the Upper Provinces. I have been rewarded for these services in a very satisfactory degree by the credit of their protection and the salary which they were pleased to allot me; and I wish not to leave Bengal without tendering some fruits of my labor to the Company. I cannot do so in a manner more pleasing or creditable to myself than in soliciting your permission, Hon'ble Sir, to make the tender through you; and under a hope that you will grant it, I take the liberty to request that you will do me the honor of presenting to the Council, for transmission to the Company by one of the ships of this year, five scenes of places which have not yet been represented by any artist who has travelled to that part of India: a view of the Fort

(4) Bengal Public Consultations, 18th November, 1783.

of Agra from the northward: a view of Agra from southward:
of the gate of the tomb of Akbar: of the Fort of Gaulier:
and of the palace of the Nabob at Lucknow. I have, etc.

WM. HODGES.

CALCUTTA,

13th November, 1783.

The offer was accepted, and orders were given that the pictures should be sent home in the *Rodney* and that the artist himself should be recommended to the Directors in the next general letter. The latter intention was apparently forgotten, or else abandoned on reconsideration; but the Company was somehow made aware of the gift, possibly by a private letter from the Governor-General. Among the Company's home correspondence we find a letter, dated 22nd June, 1784, addressed to the Commissioners of the Customs, referring to the pictures as intended to be hung in the East India House, and begging that they should be allowed to pass free of duty. To this request a refusal was returned; whereupon the Company made an appeal to the Treasury (14th July). The application was referred by the latter to the Customs Commissioners, who in reply said that they saw no reason why the Duty should be excused; and in this view the Lords of the Treasury (21 August) concurred(5). No further allusion to the matter has been traced in the records; but it seems certain that the pictures were never hung at the East India House, and so we must conclude that the Company refused to pay the duty and left them to their fate. To some extent this may have been due to pique; though possibly another reason was that the Directors were at the time so short of cash that they had made repeated applications to the Treasury for permission to defer the payment of the large sums due to the Government for customs. These requests had been granted; but it may have been thought at the East India House, that it would not look well in the circumstances to pay even the small amount due on the pictures while pleading want of means to meet the Company's liability on its ordinary trade imports.

We must now resume the story of Hodges' career. It has been alleged that he brought back a fortune from India. Of this, however, I find no evidence. It seems unlikely that his paintings had been in so much demand as to leave much of a surplus when his expenses (including his passage home) had been paid; and such indications as there are tend to show that the rest of his life was more or less of a struggle to make a livelihood. He entered on it bravely enough, and kept it up with indomitable spirit. He married for the second time (only once again to lose his wife after a very short time) and settled in Queen Street, Mayfair. He then projected the publication of a series of engravings in aquatint by himself from the sketches he had brought back. These were to form two series of twenty-four

(5) Treasury Minutes at the Public Record Office. Vols. 55 and 56.

plates each, to be issued (with letter-press) in quarterly parts of four each at 30s. a part. The whole work cost £18 unbound, or £20 bound. Upon his application the Directors (22 Dec. 1785) allowed the work to be dedicated to the East India Company and subscribed for forty sets. Hodges was also busily engaged in making pictures in oils from the same sketches, and between 1785 and 1788 he exhibited at the Royal Academy, besides other works, no less than twenty-two Indian views, following up these with four more at the exhibition of 1794. He had been elected an Associate of the Academy in 1786 and a full R. A. three years later. That Sir Joshua Reynolds thought well of his work is shown by a letter from him to the Duke of Rutland, of 20 August, 1786 (6). The Duke, who was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had expressed a wish that William Marlow, the fashionable painter of landscapes and country seats, would come over to Dublin. Reynolds replied that Marlow had "quitted business"; and he went on to say: "I have met lately with a painter of landskips and buildings that I think excells Marlow—Mr. Hodges, who went the first [sic] voyage of Capt. Cook and has since been in the East Indies. He is now desirous of seeing Ireland, and would embark immediately if he was sure of Your Grace's protection. He is a very intelligent and ingenious artist and produced, I think, the best landskips in the last exhibition, which were taken from drawings which he made in the East Indies."

As shown by this letter, Hodges was always ready to embrace an opportunity of seeing fresh countries. About 1790 he made a tour on the Continent, in the course of which he visited St. Petersburg. After this he turned his attention to writing an account of his experiences in the East, which was published early in 1793, under the title of *Travels in India, 1780-83*. The work, which, apart from its personal details, is interesting as an account of the country at the period with which it deals, is written with such modesty and good taste as to give a very favourable impression of the author; and indeed he must have had a winning personality to secure, as he seems to have done, the warm regard of almost everyone he met. As illustrations, he reproduced fifteen of his own pictures, though this time he took no part in the engraving of them. Eight of these pictures belonged at the time to Warren Hastings. When the latter sold his house in Park Lane, he sent eleven of Hodges' paintings to Christie's for sale, and was much disappointed that they fetched only £125, declaring that he would have burnt them rather than let them go at such a price. Others he evidently retained, for there were several at Daylesford at the time of his death.

The rest of the story may be briefly told. Hodges married for a third time with the result that he soon had five children to provide for. Despite his diligence, he evidently found it difficult to make a living by his profession; and in 1795 he abandoned it, sold off his stock, and settled at Dartmouth, where with some associates he opened a bank. This came to grief

(6) Fourteenth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, p. 340.

(7) and soon after its failure Hodges died at Brixham (6th March, 1797). Within a short time his wife followed him, leaving the children in poverty. Her brother, upon whom the care of them devolved, wrote to Hastings, begging him to assist by buying the drawings from which Hodges had made the pictures Hastings had purchased. With his usual generosity Hastings complied, and also showed kindness to the family in other ways (8). It may have been at his instance that a Madras cadetship was given to one of the children, Henry William (born 8th November, 1788). The youth went to Madras in 1807, and ten years later we find him taking part in the Pindari War. On the annexation of Khandesh he was appointed Assistant Collector of that district, and this employment he retained for thirteen years. After furlough to England he returned to Madras in October, 1832, and was made private secretary to the Governor (Sir Frederick Adam); but two months later he obtained the appointment of Government Agent at Chepauk and Paymaster of Carnatic Stipends. He returned to England in 1836 (by which time he had reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel), retired two years later, and died at Aix-la-Chapelle on 19 October, 1845.

Considering what a prolific artist he was, it seems strange that comparatively few pictures by Hodges are to be found in public collections. Neither the National Gallery nor the Tate Gallery possesses a specimen of his work. In the Diploma Gallery of the Royal Academy may be seen his "View of the Ghauts at Benares;" the India Office has another view at Benares, purchased in 1904; and the Government of India one of the Taj Mahal, though how this was acquired does not seem to be known (9). At Sir John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields there are two drawings in body colour by Hodges, one representing a side view of the mosque at Fatehpur Sikri, and the other a water pavilion near Agra. The Admiralty possesses some of his original sketches made during his voyage with Cook and two more are in the Print Department of the British Museum; while a water colour drawing of a ruined palace at Madura is in the South Kensington Museum.

As we have seen, the story of William Hodges is one of comparative failure. His talents were limited. Portrait painting (the most lucrative branch of the art) was apparently beyond his reach, and the landscapes to which he was obliged in the main to confine himself were in small demand. His pictures are well composed and the colouring is good; but they cannot be said to be of transcendent merit. Lord Valentia, in his *Travels*, comments severely upon their inaccuracy; and it must be confessed that the painter seems to have been more concerned to make a pleasing composition than to copy exactly the scene he professed to portray. In this, however, he was by no means singular, for the same accusation might be brought against the great Turner. His visit to India was the outstanding event of Hodges' career. He travelled much more widely in that country than any

(7) See Extract from the Farington Diary: given as an Appendix on pp. 7-8.

(8) Sydney C. Grier, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

(9) This picture is now at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi.

APPENDIX.

THE DEATH OF HODGES

By way of pendant to Sir William Foster's interesting article, we reproduce an extract from the Diary of Joseph Farington, R.A., in which an account is given of the transactions in connexion with the bank at Dartmouth which ended in the death of Hodges. The Dr. Gretton who is referred to has been identified as George Gretton, Rector of Hensor in Buckinghamshire and Dean of Windsor from 1809 until his death in 1820.

"November 17, 1806—[Dr. Gretton] complained much of the great loss He had sustained by His Brother who was connected with Hodges in a Bank which they set up at Dartmouth. He said His Brother had great abilities for His profession but had become drunken & depraved. After the death of Hodges He allowed His Brother £200 a year to maintain Him so as to enable him to proceed in his profession as an Attorney after the Bank had stopped; but all His wishes were frustrated by the habits He had adopted,—& He now allowed Him a pittance regardless of what may become of Him.—He spoke of Hodges with great bitterness, saying that He had neither *religion* or *principles*: that he was a swindler and a cheat.—He sd. His Brother unfortunately became acquainted with Hodges in the following manner:—

John Carr, brother [in law] to Mr. Hodges, had been placed with an Attorney in London of the name of *Pugh*, who proved to be a flimsy man, & in other respects such, as to cause Hodges to be dissatisfied with Him. At that time Dr. Gretton had a living at Dartmouth, & His Brother was established there as an Attorney.

"Hodges prevailed upon the Doctor to induce His Brother to take John Carr to be His clerk, which caused an intercourse between Hodges & Him, and the former made a proposal to the latter to set up a Bank at Dartmouth and shewed to the latter Deeds not worth six pence to prove that He was worth £12,000, all of which He offered to lodge as a foundation to



MRS. HASTINGS
From a Portrait by Schlöterbeck.

The Second Mrs. Hastings and Her Sons.

I HAVE lately been examining the volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1788 (Vol. LVIII) and at page 945 of the second part have come across the following "Anecdotes of a Lady of Political Consequence", which plainly refer to the second Mrs. Hastings, and which may possibly prove of interest to readers of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

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Stuttgardt, July [1788].

"MR. URBAN,

"The following particulars relating to a celebrated Lady may not be thought uninteresting, at a season when her situation, and that of her husband, must necessarily furnish much subject for conversation. The facts are undeniable, and were repeatedly corroborated by persons of undoubted veracity.

AN IMPARTIAL TRAVELLER.

"Mrs.—was born either at Stuttgardt, the capital of the Duchy of Wurtemberg, or at Louisbourg, a small town about ten miles from Stuttgardt, and where the Duke had a large and magnificent palace in which he during some years, constantly resided. The family name of Mrs.—was Chapusette de St. Valentia, originally from France, but some time transferred to Germany. Her parents were in a very humble, and indeed miserable situation; for her father was a musician of a very inferior class, and gained his livelihood by attending guingettes and rustic balls, while his wife who had been a common servant, contributed to maintain her family by her labour as a washerwoman. Mrs.—had a brother, who was for some years a private soldier in the service of the Duke of Wurtemberg; and she herself performed all the menial offices in her father's house, until she was captivated at the age of 16 (at which period she was remarkable for her beauty), by one—then an officer in the service of the Duke of W. but who was soon after reformed, and left with the remnants of a fortune originally very small. Thus reduced, he determined to try his fortune in another country, and quitting Germany with Mrs.—whom he then or soon afterwards married, repaired to England whence they embarked for India. This event happened about 21 or 22 years since, subsequent to which the father of Mrs.—died, but the mother and brother are still living at Stuttgardt, upon a pension which she has settled upon them for their lives, and which is fully adequate to their wishes and station. The brother purchased his discharge and continues at Stuttgardt in an independent situation, and Mr.—has long been returned to Europe is resident in some part of Germany

married to another woman by whom he had a numerous family and being it is said still assisted by Mrs.—.

“ Since the great turn in the affairs of that lady, attempts have been made to prove that she is descended from the ancient and respectable family of Chapusette in France, and the chargé des affaires from the Court of Versailles was applied to by Mrs.— 's brother and doubtless at her instigation, to search into the annals of that family, and draw out proofs of the alliance; but although every proper search was made no trace could be found of there having been any alliance or connection between that family and the family of Mrs.—. It is said that, soon after that lady's arrival in London her mother came over to see her, but that Mrs.— would not suffer her to come to her house, and only saw her twice at an inn where she promised to provide for her, upon condition of her quitting England directly. This condition being complied with, Mr. Meyer, the miniature painter, a native of the Duchy of Wurtemberg (1), was sent over to Stuttgart as agent to Mrs.— and arranged the settlement of the mother and brother much to their satisfaction. This arrangement was accompanied by a picture of Mrs.— which her relatives are not a little fond of displaying.”

* * * * *

These revelations by “ An Impartial Traveller ” will repay study in juxtaposition with the extracts translated by Fraülein Mülberger of Stuttgart (a great grand daughter of Mrs. Hastings' brother. “ Baron Chapuset ”), from a series of articles by Herr Rektor Lochner published in the *Korrespondent von und für Deutschland* of Nuremberg, in 1683, which were communicated to *Bengal: Past and Present* by “ Sydney C. Grier ” in 1910 and printed at pages 333 to 337 of the fifth volume.

* * * * *

Lochner begins by stating that his essay, “ Marianne Hastings,” cannot claim to be a complete picture, and aims only at enshrining the fragments which he had gathered from every available source. He has searched all the Church Books, Registers and Archives of Nuremberg and Altdorf, where the Chapuset family lived, has also had the opportunity of studying the private records of the Imhof family, and has gathered what reminiscences he could from people still living who had known the Chapuset family. He says that important parts of the history seemed to be irretrievably lost.

Among the refugees forced to leave France, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, was one Charles Chapuset de St. Valentin, born in 1653, and formerly Brigadier in the household troops of the King, the famous “ Maison du Roi.” He earned his living as a teacher of languages and dancing in Berlin, Erlangen and Schwalbach, settling finally in the Univer-

(1) Jeremiah Meyer, miniature painter, was born at Tübingen in Wurtemberg in 1735. In 1789 he was appointed by the King to be a foundation member of the Royal Academy. He resided for many years in Tavistock Row, Covent Garden, and later at Kew, where he died of a fever on January 19, 1789. His grave is close to that of Gainsborough in Kew Churchyard.

sity town of Altdorf, near Nuremberg. Here he became dancing-master to the University, and as a widower married, on 21st September, 1693, Katharina Maria Muller, the daughter of a clergyman of Graefenberg. Two children of this marriage are known: Johann Karl (born at Altdorf, 1694, teacher of languages, wrote several French grammars, died in 1770 at Nuremberg) and Friedrich Julius (born at Altdorf, 1702, merchant at Nuremberg, died 1786).

By a third marriage with Susanna Maria—, (surname unknown), Charles Chapuset had another son, Johann Jakob, who was still a schoolboy when his father died, and who seems to have been the only one of the family to show marked French characteristics. Nothing is known about the days of his youth. He is said to have become Imperial Notary in 1736, (but his name is not to be found in the list of Notaries), then, in consequence of a duel, to have enlisted as a soldier and entered the Imperial Service, and to have died in a military hospital at Schwarzenbach on the Seal in 1758. There is no documentary proof of this. His wife was Caroline Friederike Grundgeiger or Krongeiger, born in 1720 at Carlsruhe. On July 16, 1749, their son, Johann Paul Thomas, was baptized "auf der Burg zu Nürnberg," that is, in the barracks established in the old castle, where Johann Jakob, as a sergeant, would naturally have his dwelling. There was also a daughter, Anna Maria Apollonia, a little older than the boy, and born probably (Lochner has not discovered any entry of the fact), in 1748 (2).

Johann Jakob appears to have been the black sheep of his family, for on his death his widow and children were left in such extreme poverty that, according to oral tradition, the poor lady was obliged to earn her living by manual labour, taking in washing, as did the other sergeant's wives. She seems to have been a strong-minded and capable woman, and must have succeeded in giving her daughter a fairly good education, judging from the ease with which in after life Marianne or Marian (as she afterwards styled herself) filled the high position which fell to her lot.

It was after the Seven Years War, in 1763, that a young officer, Christof Adam Karl Von Imhof, came to Nuremberg, to visit a family of his acquaintance. The end of the war had left him among the unemployed, and the means of his family, Imhof auf Marlach, were too small to provide him with a maintenance. He went about among his relatives, from one household to another, repaying to some extent the hospitality he received by painting their portraits. He had a number of relatives in Nuremberg, and spent some time there. No information whatever has come to light respecting the way in which Imhof and Marianne became acquainted. There were many difficulties that militated against a marriage between them. Imhof's income was not large enough for his own wants, much less to support a family. He was also of noble birth, and could have requested the hand of a daughter of any of the chief Nuremberg families, while Marianne's family, though of noble descent, had quitted France in circumstances which involved the total loss of its property, and she herself had been brought up in poverty.

(2) February 2, 1747 (Lawson)—S.C.G.

and was the daughter of a soldier, at that time a profession held in little esteem. The circumstances, time and place of their wedding are also shrouded in absolute obscurity.

The family records of the Imhofs do not contain a single mention of Marianne (3). Imhof's marriage would naturally be considered a misalliance by his noble family, who evidently thought his decision to earn his livelihood by painting portraits was too degrading to an officer of noble birth to be mentioned, for the record states merely that he undertook a journey to England for the sake of making progress in his studies. All that Lochner can say on the subject is:—"Since the family record gives no information on the matter, we can only say that Imhof and Marianne left Nuremberg, were married somewhere—perhaps in some country place (for it cannot be doubted that they were married in church)—and then went immediately to England, where they must have lived for several years, Imhof earning a livelihood for himself and his family, which now included two sons, by painting. Of these years also no record remains."

Marianne's brother, Johann Paul Thomas ("Baron Chapuset,") lived and died at Stuttgart. He is described as a *particulier*, i.e., a person of independent means (4). There is a saying in the family that he occupied the post of Court gardener to the King of Wurtemberg, but nothing certain is known about this. Marianne's mother also spent the later years of her life at Stuttgart and died there.

* * * * *

Lochner's statement that the circumstances of the wedding of Imhof and Anna Maria Chapusettin are "shrouded in absolute obscurity" must be qualified in the light of the evidence afforded by the following entry made by Joseph Farington in his Diary on June 4, 1795:—

Mrs. Hastings was Maid of Honor at the Court of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, married Mr. Imhoff in consequence it is said of the effects of a former intrigue. Mr. Scheulenburg obtained from Sir William James (5) an appointment of cadet for Imhoff, and he

(3) The evidence is conflicting here, for Henriette von Bissing writing later than Lochner, says in her life of Imhoff's daughter Amalie, that she had read many letters from Marian on the subject of the divorce among the family papers.—S.C.G.

(4) Hastings obtained an Indian cadetship for Charles Chapuset, a son of "Baron Chapuset": but the young man came to no good. Extravagant from the first, he lost the adjutancy of his regiment because he was Rs. 16,000 in debt to Colonel (afterwards Sir David) Ochterlony, and finally absconded from Muttra where he was stationed. The Rajah of Bhurtpore arrested him in his territory and he was sent down to Calcutta under a guard and cashiered. His sister Marian acted as companion to Mrs. Hastings and subsequently married the Rev. Thomas Winter, Rector of Daylesford who became the custodian of the Hastings relics and papers. These were bequeathed to the Victoria Memorial Hall by their daughter Miss Marian Winter. (See *Letters of Warren Hastings to his wife*: Appendix III, pp. 461, 463.)

(5) "Commodore" James who captured the sea fort of Severndroog on the west coast from the Mahratta pirate Tulaji Angria in March, 1755. He was created a baronet in 1778 and was a Director of the East India Company from 1768 until his death in 1783 (Deputy Chairman, 1778 and 1781, Chairman, 1779). Farington's "Mr. Scheulenburg" is obviously Fanny Burney's "Mrs. Schwellenberg."

and Mrs. Imhoff happened to take their passage to Madras in the *Grafton* Indiaman (6) when Mr. Hastings was also a passenger going out as 2nd in Council to Madras, from whence he was removed to Bengall (7). His attachment to Mrs. Imhoff commenced during the passage. A regular divorce according to the rules of a German Court between Imhoff and his wife, after which Mr. Hastings married her (8). It does not appear that a known criminal connection was formed before. The divorce was under pretence of some personal illusage received by Mrs. Imhoff from Mr. Imhoff.

"Sydney C. Grier" discredits the scandal here retailed as to the cause of the marriage with Imhoff and declares it to be impossible, in the light of Queen Caroline's subsequent patronage (9). She adds that the Mecklenburgh Strelitz connection will account at once for the Queen's friendliness and for the absence of any mention of the marriage in the Stuttgart registers. The marriage presumably took place at Strelitz between 1765 and 1768, but no entry can be found in the records or church registers.

The portrait of Mrs. Hastings which faces page 9 accompanied "Sydney Grier's" article and is taken from a picture which was in 1910 in the possession of Fraülein Mülberger. It is signed "Schlotterbeck, pinx. 1789", but it is clear that it must represent Mrs. Hastings at a much earlier age. The original was possibly the work of Imhoff himself. Frä. Mülberger was not able to furnish any particulars of Schlotterbeck, nor was she in a position to say for whom this picture, and companion portraits of Mrs. Hastings' father and mother, were painted. Can it be the picture alluded to in the *Gentleman's Magazine* which "Mrs.—'s relatives are not a little fond of displaying"? Mrs. Hastings is painted in a white dress with blue ribbons. The hair is fair, and the eyes blue.

Mrs. Hastings had two sons (10) by Baron Imhoff, Charles and Julius, in whom their stepfather took great interest. When William Hickey was in London in 1780 he dined in Newman Street with Mrs. Touchet, the mother

(6) The *Duke of Grafton* (499 tons, Captain Brook Samson in command) sailed from the Downs for "the Coast and Bay" on March 26, 1769.

(7) Hastings arrived in Calcutta on February 17, 1772. The Imhoffs had preceded him. The Fort Saint George Consultations for September 10, 1770, record that "Mr. Imhoff, who arrived here as a cadet last season, applies for permission to resign the service and proceed to Bengall." According to Dr. Tyso Saul Hancock, Imhoff reached Calcutta at the end of 1770, but his wife did not join him until October 1771. Divorce proceedings were taken by Imhoff in the Court of Franconia directly the *Duke of Grafton* touched at Madras, but the decree was not received in Calcutta until 1775, or six years later.

(8) The marriage is thus recorded in the Registers of St. John's Church, Calcutta:—

1777, August 8.—The Hon'ble Warren Hastings Esq., Governor-General of India and Miss Anna Maria Appolonina Chapusettin.

(9) *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 18.

(10) Sir Charles Lawson mentions a third son Ernest, who died in infancy; but "Sydney Grier" has been able to find no trace of him, and if such a son was born, he must have died in Germany before the Imhoffs came to England.

of Peter and Samuel Touchet and "Bibby Motte", and there met "two fine lads, Westminster, named Imhoff being sons of Mrs. Hastings by her former husband" (Memoirs Vol. II, p. 248). Three years later (1783) we find a reference to them in a letter from Major Scott Waring to Mrs. Hastings:—

I mentioned your young gentlemen. They are both extremely well. The eldest grows a very graceful, handsome young fellow, and the youngest Julius is, I assure you, a perfect resemblance of his dear Mother.

The early history of these sons has been examined with great care by "Sydney C. Grier", but, nevertheless, remains obscure. The theory that two sons were born to the Imhoffs at Madras, and that one died there, is not supported by any entry in the Madras lists of births and deaths. But the list of passengers by the *Duke of Grafton* in 1769 indicates that the Imhoffs took one child to India with them (11) and in 1768 "Mr. Imhoff" showed a miniature of his wife and child at the exhibition of the London Society of Artists.

Details of the subsequent career of the boys are more precise. Charles, the elder, served in one of the Prince of Waldeck's regiments; and received a commission in the British Army in 1799. He married in 1796 Charlotte Blunt a daughter of Sir Charles William Blunt, Bart., who came out to India at the age of 53 to make a second fortune and died worth £100,000 at Pulta on September 28, 1802, at the age of 72 (12). Charlotte Imhoff nursed Hastings in his last illness, and a letter of hers, "blistered with tears", conveyed the news of his death (on August 22, 1818) to his life-long friend David Anderson. Imhoff was allowed with three other Englishmen to accept the insignia and title of a Knight Commander of the Swedish Order of St. Joachim (13), and inherited the estate of Daylesford on his mother's death on March 20, 1837, at the age of ninety. He died as recently as February 14, 1853, at the age of eighty-six.

Julius entered the Company's service in 1790 as a writer on the Bengal establishment. The following extract from the editorial columns of the *Calcutta Gazette* of August 5, 1790, will be found in Seton Karr's *Selections* (Vol. II, p. 273):

The Court of Directors, in their general letter, mention having appointed thirty-two writers to this establishment. The list of their names has not yet been received.

Mr. Hastings, who was very handsomely allowed to nominate one, has chosen Mr. Imhoff.

(11) Sir Charles Lawson says that the child was Charles.

(12) He is commemorated by a marble monument in St. John's Church, Calcutta.

(13) The Hastings mss. contain several letters from a Swede of the name of Hansen who obtained the decoration for Imhoff and was anxious to perform the same series for Hastings: see note by "Sydney C. Grier" in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 234.

He arrived in Calcutta on August 1, 1790, and was appointed to be an assistant in the office of the Secretary in the Public Department. On January 13, 1792, he was posted to Moorshedabad as Second Assistant to the Collector; and on May 1, 1793, was transferred to Tipperah as Register of the Dewanny Adawlut. On August 30 in the same year (1793) he returned to the Presidency as Register of the Court of Appeal and Circuit; and went to Midnapore as Collector on April 7, 1797. Here he found himself faced with the duty of suppressing the Chuar rebellion, and his exertions so seriously affected his health that he died in 1799. In a report submitted in 1874 to the Government of Bengal by Mr. J. C. Price, Settlement Officer at Midnapore, we read:

The year 1799 A.D. is marked in the Midnapore annals as the year of the great Chuar rebellion, when all the passions of the sirdars and paiks burst forth in a wild attempt to revenge the resumption of their jaghire land on the Government, if not to compel it to order a complete restoration of them. All the lawless tribes of the jungle mehals made common cause with the paiks, and carried slaughter and flame to the very doors of the Magistrate's cutcherry.

The ordinary police and the military stationed at Midnapore were utterly unable to cope with the banditti, as they were called, and a reinforcement of troops had to be dispatched to Midnapore. After a period of the greatest anxiety and suspense, after innumerable and most brutal murders, after the death of the Collector himself, who could bear the weight of his charge no longer and succumbed under the accumulation of his troubles, it was not until the close of the year that the district was restored to a state of only partial tranquillity.

Mr. Price gives a remarkable illustration of the unsettled state of the country. The Judges of the Provincial Court of Appeal were due at Midnapore in March to hold sessions. On their way from Burdwan and Beerboom they halted at Keerpoy (Kirpai) and one of them, John White, wrote to the Magistrate, Robert Gregory, protesting against his failure to inform them of the danger of travelling through a disturbed district, and requesting him to state whether it was practicable for the Judges to proceed with security. Gregory advised them to go by way of Ghatal and then by water down the river Roopnarayan to Tumlook. "The road from Keerpoy to Midnapore," he said, "is very insecure owing to the numerous banditti infesting all quarters, and it is dangerous to travel even with a guard of sepoys." The Judges were so alarmed that they betook themselves to Hooghly and held Sessions there.

On May 6, 1799, Imhoff was relieved of the duties of Collector by his assistant T. W. Ernst and took over the office of Collector from Gregory who was summoned to the Presidency to explain in person matters connected with the insurrection. On September 6, Imhoff was obliged to leave

Midnapore for Ghatal on account of his health: but grew worse there and proceeded to Calcutta where he died on September 23, shortly after his arrival (14).

Julius Imhoff kept up his stepfather's connexion with Alipore: and, says "Sydney Grier," the vault in which he and his three children are buried is to be found in the grounds between Hastings House and the Judge's Court. He built a house of his own at Alipore, in the hope that "it might serve for the use of the Court of Appeal", and describes it in his will (which bears no date) as "my house and grounds situated behind that house or mansion commonly known by the name of Belvedere House and at present occupied by William Augustus Brooke" (15). In 1803 the house was let or sold by the executors to Charles D'Oyly, afterwards the seventh baronet, and was acquired in 1841 by the Nawab Nazim of Moorshedabad, when it was described in the deed of sale as having been formerly occupied by Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe. In 1864 the property passed to Sir Cecil Beadon who dismantled the house and sold portions of the grounds (which are now incorporated in Belvedere) to the Secretary of State. The remaining portion of the grounds is now used by the Agri-Horticultural Society.

The three children of Julius Imhoff were apparently natural children and of mixed blood: and in 1824 or 1825 Letters Patent of legitimization were obtained. Charles, when a boy of five, was drowned with his nurse in 1804 in a well in the grounds of the Alipore house. The other two were placed as boys in the charge of John Palmer, the "Prince of Merchants". John (born 1798) who is described by Palmer as being very dark of complexion, was brought up in Calcutta and married in 1826 Maria Chambers the sixth daughter of John Chambers (16). He left no issue and died between 1848 and 1854. William, who was the eldest of the three, was born in 1791. He had, we are told, "a fine countenance, mild, open, intelligent, bears a strong resemblance to his poor father." Hastings and his wife took charge of him, and he was brought up at Daylesford, where he became a great favourite, "but developed unsatisfactory traits of character as he grew older." His descent excluded him from the Company's service, and John Palmer was asked to settle him "in the Indigo Line." The scheme, however, does not seem to have been attended with success. "He proved idle, and fickle, and was frequently out of employment": and died in 1823 or 1824, before the arrival of the letters of legitimization.

(14) Asiatic Annual Register.

(15) William Augustus Brooke entertained Bishop Heber at Benares in 1824, and had then been fifty-six years in India. He died at Benares on July 10, 1833, at the age of eighty-one which places the date of his birth in 1752. He is said to have owed his first appointment in the Service to Edward Wheler. From 1792 to 1795 he was Collector of Burdwan.

(16) John Chambers, free merchant and oriental translator to the Company, died at Serampore in 1833. He was said to be the son of Captain John Chambers of the Company's service who was killed at Cossimbazar in 1756 and was himself the son of Charles Chambers, Director of the Company from 1755 to 1757 and again from 1763 to 1768 (information derived from a genealogical table of the Chambers family, supplied by the Rev. Fr. G. Lowyck, S.J.).

In conclusion, let me say that the Rev. Fr. G. Lowyck, S. J. informed me in 1923 that there was a portrait in existence of Warren Hastings by Imhoff. It was found concealed under a religious oleograph and was at one time in the possession of a Mrs. Ashe who was a member of the Chambers family into which Julius Imhoff married, but was sold by her to Mr. A. Bush of 35, Elliott Road, Calcutta (17). The Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., who saw the painting about the year 1916, has assured me that the letters "off," forming the end of the name Von Imhoff, were then clearly visible on the canvas. The picture, however, has now faded a good deal, and the inscription is illegible.

JULIAN JAMES COTTON.

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(17) The picture, Mr. Bush tells me in a letter of April 29 last, is still with him. Another specimen of Imhoff's art may be seen in the Old Mission Church at Calcutta in the shape of a German engraving of a portrait of John Zachariah Kiernander which he painted in 1773. (See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. X, p. 306, where a reproduction of the engraving is given). The original painting was in the possession of the Kiernander family and was accidentally destroyed some thirty years ago through the carelessness of the famous missionary's great grandchildren in their play. The inscription at the foot of the engraving is as follows: "Painted by C. A. C. Imhoff, 1773 in Calcutta in the Kingdom of Bengal, engraved by J. S. Walwer 1776 in Nürnberg."

Routes, Old and New, from Lower Bengal "up the Country."

Part II—The "New Military Road" and the Grand Trunk Road.

IN the previous article that appeared in the July-September, 1924 issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXVIII, pp. 21-36), reference was made to the occasional use of routes across "Jharkand" from the seaboard of Lower Bengal and Orissa to the upper provinces. It was pointed out that previous to the construction, at the instigation of Warren Hastings, of the "New Military Road from Calcutta to Chunargarh" no record could be found of the existence of any one recognized highway leading direct across country through the hills and jungle of Jharkand, as the Chutia Nagpur plateau and its fringes were called in earlier times. A rapid survey was made of some surviving accounts of the use of routes through the hills from the time of the Buddhist pilgrim I-tsing (A.D. 673) down to 1763, when Major Carnac led a body of troops through Chutia Nagpur to Sasaram and the western border of Shahabad at Sawath. Mention should perhaps have been made of two other instances. The *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Shams-i-Siraj Afif tells us how the Emperor Firuz Shah Tughlak, after his second campaign against Bengal, proceeded from Jaunpur through Bihar to Orissa, and after making peace with the "Rai of Jajnagar", started back by some route through Jharkand. The guides lost their way, and "the army ascended and descended mountain after mountain, and passed through *jangals* and hills until they were quite in despair and utterly worn out with the fatigues of the arduous march" (1). No news of them reached the capital for about six months. Sufficient detail is not given by the historian to enable us to trace the road taken; but it seems they must have passed to the south and west of Chutia Nagpur, and for part of the way up the Mahanadi valley, through what are now the Feudatory States, crossing the Son somewhere in the south of the Mirzapur district, and reaching Kara by the Ganges route. Two and a quarter centuries later, when Man Singh, then Akbar's Viceroy of Bengal and Bihar, started from Rohtasgarh on his second great campaign against the rebellious Afghan chiefs of Orissa, in 1691-2, he ordered all the Bihar troops, Stewart tells us (2), to proceed "by the western road called the Jarcund route, to Midnapore," while he himself went by the usual way down the Ganges. The words used indicate that some way across Chutia Nagpur was known

(1) Elliot, Vol. III, p. 315.

(2) C. Stewart, *History of Bengal*, Section VI.

in those days. Possibly it emerged upon the road on which our old pilgrim I-tsing met the mountain brigands that behaved so rudely to him. While it is perfectly clear that routes through the hill country were known to the dwellers in those parts, and were used by travellers and pilgrims, they were only resorted to by the great of the land or by troops in cases of special emergency. We have seen how even Sher Shah, who had a life-long experience of the hill country, selected the more circuitous but easier route by the Ganges for his great highway to the east.

After this digression we may return to the "Military Road." From the Government records of 1781 we learn that Captain James Crawford, who was well acquainted with the Chutia Nagpur upland, having served in those parts for some years, had been called upon to inquire "whether a high road may be made in or near a direct line from Calcutta to Chunargarh, through what places it must pass, and in what manner it may be completed at the smallest expense." Crawford submitted his report in June, 1781, showing the line he recommended should be followed, with necessary detail, and noting the distances from stage to stage. He estimated that the total initial cost would be somewhat less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees, and that Rs. 40 per mile, or about Rs. 16,000 in all, to be paid to the local zamindars, would meet the upkeep. These proposals were laid before the Council on the 7th July, 1781, and it was resolved "in conformity to the Governor-General's recommendation that the charge of making a road from Calcutta to Chunar agreeably to the plan suggested by Captain Crawford be entrusted to Captain Ranken" (3). This decision having been taken, no delay was allowed to occur in giving effect to it. In less than three and-a-half years we find a military officer taking a detachment of troops right along it without mishap. This detachment, moreover, though accompanied by bullock carts (and the bullocks were none of the best), marched from Raghunathpur to Sherghati in twelve marching days, which means an average of 14 miles per day. Officers accustomed to mufassal touring will understand what this means. For such as are not used to road marching, it will be enough to note that even along the Grand Trunk Road between Calcutta and Benares the marching stages, marked by the encampment grounds, are just under 12 miles apart on the average.

The only section in which Captain Crawford's alignment was not adhered to seems to have been between Aurangabad and Sasaram. Crawford proposed that it should go from Aurangabad north-westwards to the large village of Jamhor, on the Punpun river, and thence across the Son by the Makrain ghat, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of the present causeway. This meant a considerable curve in the road; and Rankin, very rightly, took a straight line past the villages of Siris, Barun and Dihri, the route followed by the present Grand Trunk Road. The most difficult portion of the road, according to Crawford's report, was the long pass leading down from near

(3) Charles Rankin; Cadet, 1769; Lieutenant, 1772; Captain, 1780; "Struck off, 1793" (Dodwell and Miles).

Kehā (4) in the north-west corner of the Hazaribagh district to Dhangain in the Gaya district. He calls this the Hemuru Ghat (a corruption of the name of a village near by), and noted that it was nearly 5 miles long, extremely uneven, and full of large stones and trees and bamboos that would have to be removed. He estimated that it would cost Rs. 8,000 to make it passable for carts. This truly remarkable estimate deserves more than a passing mention. The pass is one of the most difficult along the whole of the northern edges of the plateau, the drop alone between the top of the ghat and Dhangain being about 1,100 feet. It is interesting to compare with this the case of the corresponding pass on the Grand Trunk Road, some twenty miles further east. In the Dhanwa Pass, between Chauparan and Bhaluachatti, the drop in $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles of road is only 737 feet; and it took the sappers and miners the best part of two years to make the road down it.

In the Map Department of the India Office there is a manuscript "Plan of the New Road, from Fort William to Chunargur" without any date on it or other record to show by whom it was drawn, except that in a corner are the letters "C. Ran—," the rest of the name having disappeared with a portion of the sheet which has worn, or been torn off. It is drawn to a scale of about 5 miles to an inch, the draughtsmanship being extremely neat. As neither the semaphore towers nor the "Shakespearian" bridges mentioned by Herklots in his *Illustrations of the Roads throughout Bengal* are marked, it seems that the plan is of a date earlier than 1828: the style of drawing also points to this conclusion. It may fairly be assumed that it is an original plan drawn by Captain Charles Rankin who constructed the road. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this plan is that it shows no less than seventy "Raised Causeways" along the road and one "Puckah bridge" just before Chunar. The raised causeways were no doubt what have sometimes been facetiously described as "Irish bridges." Figures have been added, giving the length of each in feet. For instance, just before reaching "Debeepara" there are two of 140 and 70 ft., respectively. Between "Gotul" and "Keesnarampoor" three are shown, of 5,050 (?), 370 and 24 ft., respectively. Between "Sootrea" and "Alleepoor," one of 210 ft. Between "Antpoor" and "Champanagur," three of 2,410, 1,550 and 1,750 ft. and so on. The total length of these causeways must have been enormous, affording another *démenti* to the silly statement in the "Calcutta Review" of 1853 that the road had been "merely a line, marked by two ditches, from which a little earth was occasionally thrown to fill up ruts or hollows made by the rain!" (5)

(4) Kainti Nagar on the latest edition of the 1 mile to 1 inch Survey sheet.

(5) The Calcutta Reviewer is not the only person who disparaged the old road. The eccentric F. J. Shore, in his *Notes on Indian Affairs* (Vol. I, p. 177) writes of it:—"I assert without fear of contradiction by a proper committee of survey, that, notwithstanding the hundreds of thousands of rupees which it has cost, it is, except just after the annual patchwork repairs, which the first shower washes away, in no respects better than the common unmade Indian track". Shore was transferred from Bengal to Farrukhabad in 1832, and possibly travelled by the road on that occasion. His *Notes* were published in 1837.

Herklots' "plates" are drawn to a scale of 12 miles to an inch. A brief description of these has been given in the previous article; but a few more details should be added. As the present Grand Trunk Road adopted the line of the old military road from Sherghati on to Benares, attention will be confined chiefly to the portion between Calcutta and Sherghati. Along this length of the road Herklots records 32 dak "stages" (not bungalows, be it noted, but sites where the *palki* bearers were changed), with the distance between each in miles, furlongs and perches. He also gives the names of the principal rivers and "torrents" crossed, the position of "Shakespearian" bridges (with the length and breadth of each), the places where other important roads branch off, and a few notes on other points. He does not mark the raised causeways, probably because the scale of the maps was too small for this. "Staging bungalows" are noted at Bankura, Chas, Jilma (about 6 miles north-west of Hazaribagh cantonment), Penarkon and Sherghati. The following "Shakespearian" bridges are recorded:—

1. Over the Berai river, beyond Vishnupur, 160 ft. span by 9½ ft.
2. Over the "Dungara torrent", near "Arrarah", 162 ft. by 5 ft.
3. Over the "Bearwah torrent", near Katkamsandi, 112 ft. by 5 ft.
4. Over the "Goosey Turreh torrent" (a tributary of the Mohana), near Kanhachatti, 147 ft. span by 9 ft.
5. Over the Karamnasa river, near Khajura, 320 ft. span by 8½ ft.

The reader will no doubt notice the varying widths of these bridges. The expression "Shakespearian" bridge was long a puzzle. Victor Jacquemont, who crossed the Karamnasa in December, 1829, mentions (6) the suspension bridge then standing "which in India is ridiculously called a *Shakespearian* bridge", apparently assuming that they were so named after the great poet! He adds that steps were then being taken to replace it by a stone bridge. The stone bridge that still spans the river was begun in 1829, and finished in 1831. It was constructed at the expense of Raja Patni Mal (who is supposed to have obtained his title on account of this work), the grandson of Raja Khiyali Ram, "over the Karamnasa river for the benefit of mankind and to preserve the pious pilgrim from contamination in its forbidden waters"..... with the approbation of the Right Hon'ble Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor-General of India, and with the assistance of James Prinsep, Esq. and Captain William Grant in furnishing the design", as an English inscription on the bridge tells us (7). The great James Prinsep was Assay Master at the Benares mint when he prepared the plans of this "holy bridge" (धर्मसेतु). The old legend explaining why it means defilement to any Hindu to touch the water of this river is so well known that it need not be quoted here. Even Babur, who passed its mouth in April, 1529, writes in his Memoirs that Hindus "firmly believe that if its water touch a person the merit of his works is destroyed". Hence the name *Karma-nasa*, which means "destruction of (meritorious) acts." The name "Shakespearian" is explained by Captain Mundy in his

(6) Voyage dans l'Inde, Paris, 1841, Tome I, p. 327.

(7) The Persian and (corrupt) Sanskrit inscriptions on this bridge are also very interesting.

Pen and Pencil Sketches. Travelling between Subathu and Simla in 1828, (8) he passed a hill stream across which there was 'a hanging bridge of ropes, an ingenious invention of Mr. Shakespear (9) late Postmaster-General'. Shakespear's invention led to the creation of a special appointment for the supervision of the construction of such bridges, a post he himself held for four years. His bridge over the Karamnasa can have had but a very short life, before it was superseded by the stone bridge. Other bridges of this type, however, were destined to survive much longer. In the nineties of last century I drove on several occasions over two of the old suspension bridges, one across the Durgavati river in Shahabad, seven miles each of the Karamnasa bridge, and the other over the Punpun near Siris in the Gaya district. These bridges were then so old and shaky as to be quite unsafe for heavy loads, such as elephants, guns, etc., which had to be taken across by a diversion at one side, through the water. I remember well the one over the Punpun, which was dismantled about 1899. It was suspended on heavy wrought iron rods, linked by pins; at the abutment at each end of the bridge these suspension rods passed through the top of a massive arched portal of stone masonry, and thence down to their anchorage in rear of the abutment. The view reproduced (facing page 24) is from a photograph (10) taken at the time this old bridge was being replaced by the present iron girder bridge on two piers, and shows what it was like. The suspension bridge over the Durgavati was of a similar type. The huge masonry portals were quite a feature in the landscape, being visible for several miles. Sir Joseph Hooker mentions in his journal that, when marching along the road in February, 1848, he crossed the Punpun "by a pretty suspension bridge, of which the piers were visible two miles off".

Neither of these bridges are mentioned by Herklots, so they must have been built, or completed, after 1828. The stringers and flooring joists had probably been renewed from time to time, but the suspension parts may well have been about sixty years old: so these bridges were probably the last specimens of the Shakespearian type left along the line of the old road.

(8) Vol. I, p. 224. I am indebted for this reference to my friend Mr. J. H. Jackson, M.A., I.E.S.

Emma Roberts, in her letterpress to Captain Robert Elliott's *Views in India*, etc., 1835, Vol. I, p. 50, when describing the "Grass Rope Bridge at Terce", writes:—"Suspension bridges formed of grass ropes, the simple, useful, and elegant invention of the rude mountaineers of the Himalaya, are of considerable antiquity in the provinces where they are found: they are said to have given the original hint to the chain bridges of Europe and to those which Mr. Shakespear has constructed so much to the public advantage in India".

(9) Colin Shakespear, H.E.I.C.S., arrived in India in 1790. He was Collector of Saharanpur from 1813 to 1818, and may have visited Garhwal or the adjoining hill country during that period. In March, 1821, he became Postmaster-General; and in April, 1824, was appointed "Superintendent-General of the Shakespearian Bridges", a post which he held till 1828. He died, at the age of 64, on the 6th April, 1835, at Berhampore, and was buried at Sonamukhi.

(10) The photograph was taken by Mr. E. Blaber, the P. W. D. Engineer who dismantled the old bridge, and by whose courtesy I am able to reproduce it.

Herklots adds an interesting table of "Rates of Travelling by Dawk Bearers" i.e., by *palki*, which shows that the rate charged was eight annas per mile. For instance, the distance from Calcutta to Sherghati is given as 306 miles, and the amount payable for the journey, Rs. 153; the distance to Sasaram as 362 miles, and the charge Rs. 181 (11). Three days' notice had to be given by passengers intending to travel to either of these places. The following note is appended to his table:—"The charges for bearers to and from places not mentioned in the preceding tables, or which is not fixed, shall be at the rate of eight (8) annas per mile, including the cost of oil and mushalls (12). The amount of stationing bearers to be paid in advance, with an advance of four (4) annas per mile, which shall be refunded if demurrage is not incurred on the road by travellers. In consequence of the difficulties experienced in procuring bearers at the stations bordering on the dominions of Oude and beyond the British frontiers, the charge will be at one (1) rupee per mile. Persons wishing to travel in the Eastern Division, *viz.* from Calcutta to Dacca, etc., are liable to the additional charges above stated, Bearers not being otherwise procurable". Though Herklots does not mention this, the control of these arrangements was vested in the Post Office authorities. It was the Postmaster-General who published the rates in respect of the old military road, rates which remained in force after the Grand Trunk Road came to be used in its stead, and till the introduction of other modes of conveyance that superseded the use of *palkis* carried on men's shoulders.

As the names of the "dawk stages" given by Herklots are of much assistance in tracing the exact line of this interesting old road, a copy of the details furnished in respect of the portion between Calcutta and Sherghati is given in Appendix A below. Briefly stated, after crossing the Hooghly between Calcutta and Salkhea, the road ran north-west through Kalipur, practically following the line of the present Howrah-Sheakhala Light Railway, past Seakhala and Jagjibanpur, crossing the Damodar near Champadanga and the Darkeshvar near Arambagh (until 1900 called Jahanabad), and so on *viâ* Khatul and Kotalpur to Vishnupur. From Vishnupur it followed the line of the present metalled road through Bankura and Chhatna to Dalpur, and thence across the Bankura boundary to Gaurandi and on to Raghunathpur in the Manbhum district (13). From Raghunathpur it took a more westerly direction, through Dubra, Chandankiari, Chandra and Chas to the Hazaribagh border. So far it is not very difficult to trace the route with the aid of old maps and the semaphore towers that are marked on the

(11) The "palkie dawk" rates given by Carey in his *Good Old Days* (Vol. I, Chap. XXXII), which are rather more than double the rates given by Herklots, apparently refer to the *horse palki dak*.

(12) *Mash'al* (Ar. مشعل), a torch.

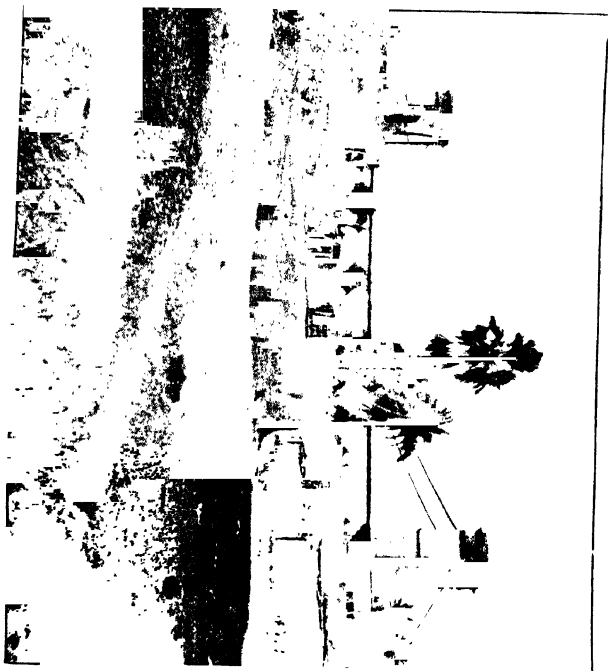
(13) It is curious that there is a tradition still persistent in Manbhum that the road in that district had been constructed by Ahalya Bai (daughter-in-law of Malhar Rao Holkar). Why the name of this good woman should have been associated with it, is difficult to imagine, except that she had constructed many works of public utility in other parts of India.

Revenue Survey sheets, and are still standing in many places along the line on either side. In Hazaribagh district the problem was not so simple, as here the old road has been more or less completely obliterated, the route taken by it not being followed by any existing road, except perhaps between Hazaribagh and Katkamsandi. Remnants of one or two of the old bridges can yet be found. But with the aid of the semaphore towers, still standing on prominent hills, and Tassin's map of Bengal and Bihar with Benares (1841) the line may be traced with fair accuracy. As regards this district I am indebted to Mr. W. McKenna, District Engineer, for an excellent skeleton map showing the probable line of the road as running *via* Khatri, Angwali, Gumia, Chatro, Tutki, Kemu, Silwar, Hazaribagh, Katkamsandi, Indra, Sindwari, Kanhachatti, and then going northwards not far from Kendi to the Dhangain pass. Mr. McKenna marks no less than ten semaphore towers still standing on hills or eminences on either side of the route, right across the district. In the Gaya district also the old line of road has become almost completely obliterated by the many hill streams and the encroachment of the jungle. In this district there are still five semaphore towers standing, *viz.*, on Salga hill, W. of Dhangain, Sagaha hill, S. E. of Sherghati, at Baliari, Bazidpur and Barun. I have not been able so far to trace the orders under which, or the exact years in which, the towers were constructed. They are usually ascribed to the decade 1820-30, but I recollect reading somewhere that they were erected at the time of the third Maratha war (1817-19). They have been described by various names, such as "Telegraph towers", "Signal stations", and "Semaphore towers", the last being that generally used by the Revenue Survey officers. The object of their construction was to provide a means of rapid communication between Calcutta and the upper provinces. They appear to have been wholly disused after the introduction of the electric telegraph; and I have not heard of any use being made of them since 1857-58 (14).

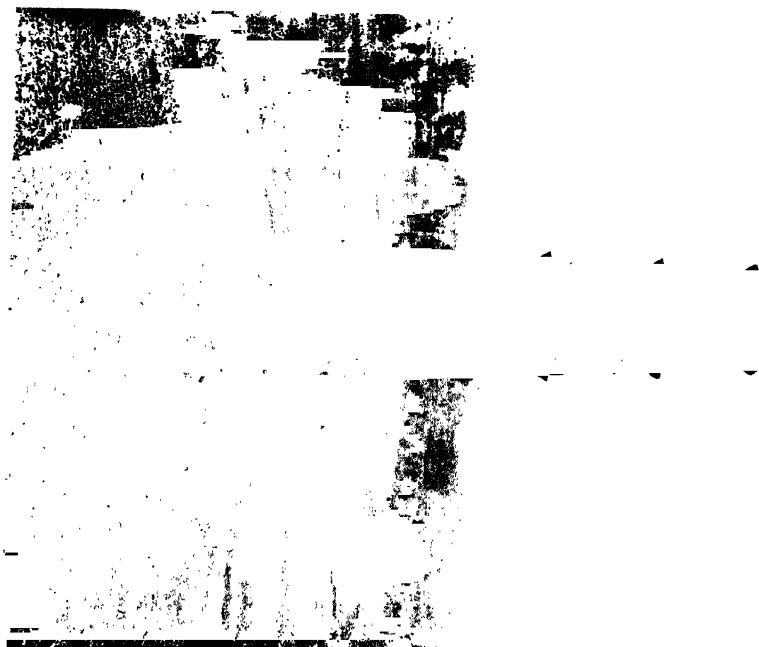
In 1838 there was published at the Military Orphan Press, Calcutta, a thin quarto entitled *Revised Tables of Routes and Stages through the Territories under the Presidency of Bengal*, etc. (15), compiled from documents in the office of the Quartermaster-General of the Bengal Army and from information obtained from Collectors and other local authorities. Table No. 177 deals with the road "From Fort William to Loodiana by Bancoorah, Hazareebagh and Benares" under the following headings:—(1) Territory; (2) Civil Authorities; (3) Names of Stages; (4) Distances in miles and furlongs; (5) Rivers; (6) Number of Nullahs; and (7) Remarks. The Shakespearian bridges are not referred to, nor the raised causeways; but the "pucca bridge" over the Karamnasa is mentioned. Between Calcutta and Sherghati only 28 stages are given, varying from 3 miles (between

(14) I am indebted to Mr. H. Wardle, Chief Engineer, Bihar and Orissa, for the photograph of the Semaphore Tower at Sindurpore in the Manbhum district between Chinpina and Chas, which is reproduced on the opposite page.

(15) There is a copy of this publication in the British Museum Library.



THE OLD SUSPENSION BRIDGE OVER THE
RIVER PAMPUN NEAR SRIS IN THE GAVA DISTRICT
AFTER DISMANTLING OPERATIONS HAD BEGUN 1899



Calcutta and Salkhea) to 16 miles (between Chas and Angwali). Only 16 of the stages correspond with those named in Herklots' list. Eighteen "Staging Bungalows" are shown, *viz.*, at Salkhea, Kotalpur, Rajbati, Bankura, Raghunathpur, Dobra, Chandankiari, Chas, Angwali, Gumia, Chatro, Digwar, Hazaribagh, Katkamsandi, Penarkon, Kanhachatti, Dhangain and Sherghati; so that some thirteen bungalows would seem to have been added on this length of road since Herklots published his work in 1828. The road is described as generally bad near the Damodar river, over which there was a ferry, and as "very bad" near Gumia and Penarkon: otherwise it is usually classed as good. The total distance to Sherghati works out at 298 miles, as compared with the 306 of Herklots. This difference does not appear to be due to any change in the line of route, as the road seems to follow exactly the same line. The difference may be caused by the omission of all fractions of a quarter of a mile, or may be due to remeasurement. The remarkable fact remains, however, that the distance by this road according to the Quartermaster-General's figures was only 6 or 7 miles longer than by the present Grand Trunk Road!

The roadway was originally 14 ft. broad; and whether it was ever widened to 20 ft., as recommended by the Military Board, is not clear. After Major Playfair's term of control expired in 1828, the condition of the road seems to have deteriorated rapidly. By 1837 we are told that of 58 bridges within the limits of the Hooghly district only 32 were standing, and "their arches were being fast worn away. The dak bungalows were out of repair, and the furniture in them was being stolen piece by piece or going to decay" (16).

Besides Sir Charles D'Oyly, whose delightful sketches of scenery along the "New Road" drawn in 1827 and 1828 have been referred to in the previous article, accounts of journeys by this route have been given us by several other travellers, among whom the following may be mentioned. Fanny Parks (17) passed along the road from bungalow to bungalow towards the end of 1826 with her husband, who was then Collector of Customs at Allahabad, driving in a buggy, or riding where the road was too steep or otherwise impracticable for the trap. The scenery in places charmed her, especially between Katkamsandi and Dhangain, which she describes as "most beautiful". At Dhangain she finds the following doggerel recorded in the visitors' book:—

"Dunghye! Dunghye! with hills so high,
A sorry place art thou;
Thou boasts not e'en a blade of grass,
Enough to feed an hungry ass,
Or e'en a half-starved cow".

A libel on the place, it should be added, which being close under the hills is comparatively well watered, and lies amidst enchanting scenery.

(16) Hooghly Gazetteer, 1912, p. 196.

(17) Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque, 1850.

In November, 1827, Captain Mundy travelled along the road in the capacity of aide-de-camp to Lord Combermere, then Commander-in-Chief. Between Raghunathpur and Hazaribagh he says the jungle was "swarming with wild beasts." When half way down the ghat above Dhangain, he writes: "I was suddenly and rudely awakened from a dozing sleep by the shock of my palankeen coming to the ground, and by the most discordant shouts and screams. I jumped out to ascertain the cause of the uproar, and found on enquiry, that a foraging party of tigers—probably speculating upon picking up a straggling bearer—had sprung off the rocks, and dashed across the road, bounding between my palankeen and that of Colonel D., who was scarcely ten yards ahead... A dak hurkarah [post messenger] had been carried off in the same spot two days before..." (18).

Emma Roberts (19) in describing the dangers of the jungle and passes when travelling "by dak", evidently had in mind experiences of this road, along which she seems to have journeyed between 1828 and 1831.

The greatest defect in the alignment of the old military road was, that between Salkhea and Bankura it ran right across the drainage areas of the Damodar and Dhalkisor rivers, and so had to pass over the innumerable channels taking off from these rivers that intersect the low country. Filling up during the rainy season, these channels not only formed serious impediments to traffic, but sudden floods were liable to damage the bridges or wreck the causeways. As early as 1804 steps were taken towards the survey of a new alignment of road in the direction of Burdwan, *via* Barrackpore and Hooghly, and this ultimately led to the establishment of the first section of the line afterwards adopted for the Grand Trunk Road. W. H. Carey (20) tells us that the road from Calcutta to Barrackpore was opened to the public in July, 1805. Then the portion from Hooghly onwards, *via* Pandua and Bainchi, seems to have been taken up. The first part had been completed before 1820, but it was then in such bad condition that it had to be reconstructed some years later, when it was metalled as far as Magra. In 1829 this new line of road was first used by troops, we are told, in preference to the "Military" road (21); but it is not stated how far they went along it—possibly up to Burdwan. By 1836 it had been metalled beyond Burdwan.

It appears probable that from about 1829 or 1830 the practice began of travelling along the new alignment as far as Burdwan, and then striking west across to Bankura, there joining the "Military" road, and following the latter onwards to Sherghati and Benares. That this was the case appears, not only from the local records, but also from a notice in the *Asiatic Journal* for 1838, (22) from which the following passage may be quoted:—

(18) *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, Vol. I, p. 5.

(19) *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan*, Vol. I, Ch. VIII.

(20) *The Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company*.

(21) *Hooghly Gazetteer*, 1912, p. 196, etc.

(22) *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXV, p. 141.

The following further evidence on the point may be noted. In J. B. Tassin's "New Map of the Country Fifty Miles round Calcutta" published in 1836, the old military road

"A new road is making to Benares, which, besides the convenience of the route, is less by 44 (23) miles, or eight hours in the dak run, than the present route by Bancoorah and Burdwan. The road passes through Burdwan, and thence direct on the saddle of the hill, keeping the Damoodar on the south, and never crosses it at all.....and descends into the Behar plains by a beautiful new ghaut, constructed by the sappers and miners, who have been nearly two years employed on it. This ghaut will be only 600 ft. elevation whilst the old and tedious ascent at Dungey [i.e. Dhangain] Ghaut was nearly 1,100 ft. Descending the plain, it unites with the old road at Shergotty, and thence to Benares the road has been now constructed and strengthened. There is by far the most magnificent and extensive iron bridge in India on the line; but the other bridges remain to be furnished, as well as the stoning of the road."

We know that the road had been metalled by then to some place beyond Burdwan, so the remainder, *viz.*, the portion over the plateau and across the plain country from Dhanwa to Benares, was evidently still all unmetalled in 1838.

Proposals for improving the road communication with the north-west the whole way from Calcutta to Delhi, seem to have received the close attention of Lord William Bentinck and his Government towards the end of 1831. It is not till then that we see the conception of the Grand Trunk Road taking form, fifty years after Warren Hastings had started work on the New Military Road to Chunargarh. The enormous length of road concerned had necessarily to be taken up in sections. Work on the several portions was not started simultaneously while the time occupied in completing the roadway and constructing all the bridges varied still more widely. For instance, on the Allahabad-Delhi section, 23 miles were completed during the year 1832, with the assistance of some 2,800 convicts (24). The portion between Hooghly (or rather Magra, as the road had already been metalled as far as this in 1830) and Benares seems to have been taken in hand at the end of 1832 or the beginning of 1833. In all the old accounts of the Grand Trunk Road, we find the name of Lord William Bentinck associated with it. In fact he earned the sobriquet of "William the Con-

vid Salkheea, Jahanabad, Kotalpur and Bankura, etc., is shown (by a double line) as the then main road to Benares. This road in fact is shown as a main road. Another main road is marked as running from Calcutta to Barrackpore. Whereas the road *vid* Ghyretty, Hooghly, Magra, Pandua, etc., to Burdwan is shown by a single line only, i.e., as an inferior road.

Again, in the *Revised Tables of Routes and Stages* (1838) full details, e.g., names of rivers, numbers of nullahs, and other notes and remarks, are entered in respect of the old military road, but these details are not given in the case of the route "From Fort William to Delhi by the New Line of Road" (i.e., the Grand Trunk Road), the fair presumption being that all these details were not yet known in respect of this new line. It seems obvious that this latter route had not up to that time been generally used by troops marching up country.

(23) This is incorrect, as will be seen later: the actual difference in length was very small.

(24) *Alexander's East India Magazine*, Vol. VI (1833), pp. 283-4.

queror " from contemporary wits, because *kankar* (calcareous nodules) was used as the top layer of the metalling! After his departure from India the pace seems to have slackened. By 1836 the road had been completed in a fashion, at all events to a point beyond Burdwan; and by 1838 the section passing through the Hazaribagh district is said to have been made; but this latter portion had probably not been metalled, as in 1841 the Military Board reported that when the work then in hand had been finished, 203½ miles between Burdwan and Benares would be metalled, leaving 137¼ miles "which it is believed will not require this operation". As nearly all of the road across the alluvial plain from the foot of Dhanwa ghat to Benares would have to be metalled to render it passable after rain, it looks as if it had then been intended to leave unmetalled the portion across the Chutia Nagpur uplands, where the ground was stony or hard. Still almost all the larger bridges remained to be built. Captain P. Wallis seems to have been appointed Superintendent of this section about this time, and Lieutenant (afterwards General) Beadle became his assistant in 1843.

William Tayler tells us that when Lord Hardinge became Governor-General he took a military view of the importance of the road, determining to have the work expedited and efficiently completed, and the bridges still wanting provided. In 1844-5 Lieutenant Beadle " was placed in executive charge of a large portion of the road, with orders to bridge the road between the two crossings of the Barakar river in two years and-a-half—a work involving the construction of fifty bridges " (25). Beadle continued in charge for several years. Sir J. Hooker spent two days with him at Belkapi in February, 1848. By 1853 the fine stone bridge of 15 arches of 50 feet each over the Lilajan river, 7 miles east of Sherghati, once so much admired but destined not to last, had been completed. This river is peculiarly liable to sudden high floods, when trees uprooted higher up are swept down with the current. One of these spates destroyed the old bridge, and others have wrecked successors in the shape of raised stone causeways. Yet, according to the writer of the article in the *Calcutta Review* of that year, there were still eight bridges wanting between Calcutta and Benares. When all these were provided, it is difficult to ascertain; but meanwhile the road had come into full use. We have already seen that the sappers and miners had been working for two years (1836-7) on the pass leading down from Chauparan in the Hazaribagh district to Dhanwa in the Bihar (now Gaya) district. By 1838 the road had so far progressed that " stages " had been fixed all along the line. In the *Revised Tables of Routes*, etc., already quoted, *vide* Table " No. 177 From Fort William to Delhi by the New Line of Road " (p. 170), we find 26 Stages shown between Calcutta and Sherghati. These are military encamping grounds, and must not be confounded with staging or dak bungalows, nearly all of which had yet to be provided. The sites were selected at an average distance of about 11 miles apart. They are all shown on Joseph's map of the Grand Trunk Road (1855). By 1838, therefore, the whole line was nearing completion, and perhaps troops were

(25) Tayler : Thirty-eight Years in India, Vol. I, p. 461.

starting to use it. By 1840 troops, and probably ordinary passengers also, had apparently ceased to use the old military road. Thenceforward the Grand Trunk Road became the great highway to the north-west, and according as it was improved and bridged, became the wonder and admiration of all who passed along it. An enthusiastic correspondent of the *Asiatic Journal* in 1838 described it as "a noble work", and adds "the jungle is disappearing, and fine tracts of excellent land are being discovered. A hardy, but docile race of people are native to the soil, and with care, encouragement and management, this heretofore *terra incognita* might be made a paradise to the Dughahs [*i.e.*, Dhangers], and a valuable acquisition to the state".

Even this road was soon to be eclipsed by the construction of the East Indian Railway, the first 120 miles of which, from Calcutta to Raniganj, were opened to traffic in February, 1855. It was some years before the Loop Line, that followed the Ganges round the hills by Rajmahal, Bhagalpur and Monghyr, was in working order. Meanwhile the Grand Trunk Road continued to carry all the up-country traffic beyond Raniganj as far as Allahabad (the railway from Allahabad to Cawnpore having been opened in 1856).

We have now seen, to restate the facts briefly, that the old Military Road to Benares held the field without a rival for some fifty years. Then a competitor, that started with the road to Barrackpore opened in 1804, grew up piecemeal, until, when it had reached Burdwan it took the place of the old road across the plains of Lower Bengal, and the traffic followed it as far as Burdwan, and thence crossed to Bankura, where it rejoined the old line. This "dual" route was used for 8 or 10 years, when the old road fell into complete disuse. The Grand Trunk then monopolised the traffic for some 15 years, when the introduction of railways entirely altered the conditions of locomotion.

Before concluding the comparison between the roads, it may be of interest to give some figures of relative length and cost. According to Rennell's Tables of routes, the distance from Calcutta to Benares by the original road by the side of the Bhagirathi and Ganges was about 686 miles. Herklots, in 1828, notes that it was 570 miles by the "old route", meaning one of the cross roads (not specified) through Burdwan. His figures for the New Military Road total 436 miles to Benares. The Quartermaster-General's figures of 1838 show the distance to Benares by this road as about 429 miles. The distance by the Grand Trunk Road is 421 miles. James Crawford's estimate of the cost of making the Military Road was "about 600 rupees per mile", or calculating roughly at the old conventional rate of Rs. 10 to the pound, £60 per mile; and this was the cost sanctioned by Hastings' government. W. H. Carey tells us that the cost of the Grand Trunk Road was "about £1,000 a mile", and it is doubtful whether this included all the bridges. Moreover it has to be remembered that convict labour was largely employed upon its construction.

The first good map of the Grand Trunk Road was published by Charles Joseph in 1855, on a scale of 4 miles—1 inch, entitled "A New and

Improved Map of the First Portion of the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Benares". It showed all the government staging bungalows, encamping grounds, overseers' "road choukey bungalows", horse and dak chaukis, post offices and thanas along the road. For any student of the history of the road this map is most valuable; but as far as the bungalows and other buildings are concerned even it is now quite out of date.

Readers who are interested in the evolution of the old methods of travel in India will find much useful information in an article in the July-December, 1853, volume of the *Calcutta Review* as the following extracts will show. It will be noticed that the writer was impressed with the superiority of the arrangements in the N.-W. Provinces.

"In the N.-W. Provinces, police chaukis are located within hail of each other, along every two miles of the road; and in Bengal they have lately adopted this good practice. There is also a *European Overseer of roads* stationed at every fifty miles..... the *dak bungalows*.....line the road at an average distance of twelve miles.....knives and forks, plates, spoons.....are furnished.....while a khansama cook, bhisti, mehter are also provided by Government.....hot water, milk, chapatis, grilled-fowl, curry, eggs are obtainable at all, and in some you may procure mutton, kid, champagne, beer etc. etc.....the days of palkis, of *demurrages*, and *dishonest pitarra-wallahs* are passed, on the whole route from Calcutta to Delhi we meet with few travellers by them..... There is another mode of travelling—marching *à la militaire* twelve miles daily, having to take a tent, servant, hackeries, utensils of all sorts with a chance of waking up in the morning and finding all your wearing apparel and money carried off by thieves.....We can now roll along by the aid of those companies [i.e. Transit Companies] at an average of six miles per hour, or 100 miles daily, allowing four hours' stoppage, changing the position at pleasure.....These gharis serve as sitting-rooms by day, as bed-rooms by night, as a wardrobe, a library, and a kitchen.....Horses are changed at about every six miles, and coachmen at sixty..

The system of travelling by *horse dak* originated, as almost all improvements have done, in connection with the Government of the N.-W. Provinces. Ten years ago, Mr. Riddel the present Postmaster-General of the N.-W. Provinces, and Dr. Paton, late Postmaster of Alighur, commenced the plan (26). Trucks drawn by one horse, and conveying a palanquin, were first employed; but they soon gave way to the convenient *palki-ghari*.....(The) Inland Transit Company formed in 1849, for

(26) Carey says "The system of conveying passengers by palkee, carriages and trucks was first established between Cawnpore and Allahabad in May, 1843, and extended to Allyghur in November of the same year".

a horse dak on the road.....was started by a native, Tantimul, the famous contractor of the Allahabad and Cawnpur boat bridges.....from Calcutta to Burhi they have nine horses at every stage, six from that to Benares, and four from Benares to Meerut.....they have reduced their fares in 1852, above Benares, from four annas to two annas a mile, and below from five annas to three annas. In 1850 Mr. Atkinson started a rival company, but he soon failed.....after him Mr. Probett of Cawnpur.....and then the *North West Dak Co.*, a Calcutta Company, but well managed, providing excellent carriages, and good horses.....employs 600 syces, 200 suwars, 80 native writers, 60 coachmen, and 20 European overseers.....(their) operations extend 1,200 miles.....letters reached Calcutta from Benares all last hot season in 52 hours instead of 120....."

So many travellers have left on record their impressions of journeys by the Grand Trunk Road, that it must suffice to refer to one or two of the earlier accounts. One of the most fascinating is that given by Sir J. D. Hooker in the first two chapters of his *Himalayan Journals*. An earlier description, which furnishes more detail of the actual mode of travel, is contained in the Revd. William Buyers' *Recollections of Northern India*. When he went up the road (about 1846) there were no public conveyances for passengers on the Bengal section. Small carts had just been introduced for the mails only, which until then had been carried by runners, just as they are still carried in many parts of the mufassal. The traveller had to provide his own palanquin, and obtain relays of bearers at each stage from the post office authorities, paying beforehand, and making a deposit to cover "demurrages", as of old. "The torch bearer", he writes, "persists in running on the windward side"! "It takes, usually, about five days to reach Benares, without any other stoppage, save what may be necessary for refreshment. The distance accomplished per day is rather less than a hundred miles". But the old system was very soon to be changed. When William Tayler travelled up the road in the cold weather of 1847-8, his wife was accommodated in an "equi-rotal carriage, a sort of palankeen on four wheels of equal size (hence the name) which had lately been brought into fashion on the Trunk Road, in lieu of the old palanquin". Tayler gives a sketch of the conveyance, which was not drawn by a horse, nor yet by a pair of bullocks, but dragged in front and pushed from behind by "bearers", just as the quaint "push-push", so familiar to old residents of Chutia Nagpur, was (and is perhaps still) propelled along the roads.

And now the shriek of the motor horn is heard all along this great road, in place of the pious, thankful, call of "Ram! Ram!" Can we wonder why the officers of olden days knew the country more intimately than their modern successors?

APPENDIX A.

(Extract from Herklots' Illustrations of the Roads throughout Bengal, etc.)

LIST OF DAK STAGES FROM CALCUTTA TO BENARES, NEW MILITARY ROAD.

No. of Stage.	NAMES.	Miles.	Furlongs.	Perches.	Staging Bungalows.	Principal Rivers and Torrents.	REMARKS.
	Calcutta					Hooghly River ..	
1	Collypore .. 10	4	13			Damoodah river ..	The new road to Sumbulpore <i>via</i> Singhboom strikes off at Jehanabad S. W. of Koolkie and East of the Dalkissore River.
2	Ellypore .. 9	7	..			Mundasurry Nuddie.	
3	Paharpore .. 9	6	39				
4	Russoolpore .. 9	6	38				
5	Koolkie .. 9	1	5			Dalkissore R. ..	
6	Bunmookah .. 9	7	20				
7	Rajgong .. 10	..	37			Berai Torrent ..	A Shakespearian Bridge 160 feet Span by 94 Bissenpore 20 miles East of Bancoorah at Berai.
8	Bissenpore .. 9	7	38				
9	Owndah .. 9	6	..			Dalkissore River.	The road to Midnapore strikes off S. W. of Bissenpore. Much jungle between Bissenpore and Owndah.
10	Bootsah or Bancoorah.	9	5	18	B		
11	Chatnah .. 9	4	15			The road from Bancoorah to Burdwan is <i>via</i> Sonamooke. A Shakespearian Bridge of 162 ft. by 5 ft., 16 miles W. of Bancoorah, at Dungara.
12	Arrarah .. 9	6	..			(Near Arrah Dungara Torrent).	
13	Gourandie .. 9	2	..				
14	Ragoonauthpore.	9	3	..			
15	Dooleabad .. 8	..	27				
16	Amchattar .. 9	2	25				
17	Chandra .. 9	2	1				
18	Chass .. 9	5	28		B	Damoodah River.	The Damoodah River is about half a mile broad.
19	Keenaree .. 9	7	28			Bookaroo Nuddie.	
20	Bussareah .. 10	6	4			Bulbul River.	At Toolkie Ghaut between Rockingah and Hazareebaugh the ascent is steep.
21	Goomeah .. 10				
22	Ghootee .. 8	5	37				

No. of Stage.	NAMES.	Miles.	Furlongs.	Perches.	Staging Bungalows.	Principal Rivers and Torrents.	REMARKS.
23	Nurkhundy ..	3	4	20		Konar Nuddie.	
24	Rachingha ..	8	5	20			
25	Burrakurheh	9	6	..			
26	Jeelmah ..	9	9	9	B	A Shakespearian Bridge 112 ft. by 5 ft. 16½ miles W. of Hazareebaugh.
27	Kutkumsandy	9	..	10		Bearwah Torrent..	
28	Peenarkone ..	9	B		
29	Dungradie ..	10	4	..		Torrent Goosey Turreh.	A Shakespearian Bridge 147 ft span by 9 30 miles. West of Hazareebaugh.
30	Dunghy Pass	10	4	..			
31	Amaroot ..	9	1	27			
32	Shehurgotty ..	9	2	..	B	Morhur River Lelajun River.	The road to Patna. strikes off at Shehurgotty 24 miles to Gya and 84 to Patna.

APPENDIX B.

" SHAKESPEARIAN " ROPE BRIDGES.

The ingenious fabric erecting on the Esplanade, immediately opposite the General Post Office, seems to excite a good deal of speculation. It is, however, nothing more than a laudable attempt to introduce Hempen, or Coir Rope Bridges, on the principle of Suspension, with the view of eventually throwing them over some of the Mountain Torrents and Rapids, which intersect the great North-West Road to Benares, and which now check the progress of our Public Mails, from ten to twenty hours during the height of the periodical rains, when no boat or raft can attempt to cross until the water subsides. We have seen the small working Model constructed by the Post Master General; and as far as we are capable of judging, we believe the plan to be entirely new. If it succeeds, and we heartily wish it may, the advantages, in giving celerity to the Public Mails at a very inconsiderable expense, are too obvious to need any comment. The Model is constructed on a scale of 80 feet only, but the experiment now making is, we are told, one hundred and sixty feet between the standards, which require no pier heads, being placed back at a safe distance from the banks of the Nullah over which the Bridge is intended to be thrown. It is a particularly dangerous Torrent, about eighty miles from Calcutta, and within twenty of Bancoorah, on the Benares Road. The tread-way, constructed of split Bamboo, is eight or nine feet wide, over which foot passengers and light cattle, may pass in safety; and perhaps the scheme may be improved for carriages, especially where the span is within one hundred feet. The whole Machinery is so constructed,

as to render it easily portable on Carts, Elephants, &c. It may also be taken down and housed during eight months in the year, while the Rapids are dry, which will greatly tend to its durability.

We hope hereafter to give a more satisfactory description of this Rope Suspension Bridge, when the experiment is completed. In the meantime, we shall only add that all the component parts have been prepared, fitted, and put together at the General Post Office, under the personal direction and inspection of the Post Master General, who is indefatigable in his exertions to improve the important department under his management and control.—*Calcutta Gazette*, Thursday, March 6, 1823.

Lord Curzon's Book.

AMONG the many distinguished holders of the office of Governor-General of India who have made Calcutta their home, none have taken a deeper or more genuine pride in the traditions of the city than Lord Curzon of Kedleston. He was her devoted servant, in every sense of the phrase. To him she owes the Imperial Library, the Victoria Memorial Hall, the restoration of the Holwell obelisk, and the transformation into a pleasure-garden of the untidy plot of ground which disfigured the eastern portion of the Esplanade. The identification of the outlines of Old Fort William, and the commemoration of historic houses, were likewise his work. There was no more enthusiastic member of the Calcutta Historical Society and no more diligent or appreciative reader of *Bengal: Past and Present*, of which he was proud to possess a complete series. It is no secret that he bitterly resented the transfer in 1912 of the Capital of British India to "the crumbling graveyards of Delhi." That is a matter of controversy which it would not be proper to introduce into the pages of a journal such as this: but it may safely be affirmed that no Viceregal ukase can rob Calcutta of the glories of the past. For a century and a half she was the central seat of the British Government in India: and it cannot be denied that she is nobly symbolical of that high position. There is everything in Calcutta to remind her citizens and to impress upon the stranger within her gates that the British Raj stands personified in her imposing buildings, her restless enterprise, and her stately monuments.

The love of Calcutta took early hold of the mind of Lord Curzon. At the inaugural meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society on April 27, 1907, a letter from him was read, in the course of which he wrote:

I am glad to hear of your effort to interest people in the historical associations of Calcutta. There is no subject of the class more worthy of attention or more full of romance. There is also no subject more commonly neglected and, I had almost said, despised. How many of the residents of Calcutta, I wonder, are aware of the exact spot where Warren Hastings fought his duel with Francis, of the identity of the various houses at Alipore which were owned or lived in by Hastings, of the house in which William Makepeace Thackeray was born, of the different buildings which were occupied as Council Houses by the Government of India, of the strange and romantic history of the big house at Kidderpore. I devoted myself more particularly while in India to collecting the materials for a history of the two Government Houses, in Calcutta and at Barrackpore, always intending to work them up in the form of a book. I hardly know whether

I shall ever find time for this: but the raw material is in my possession.

The project foreshadowed in 1907 has at length materialized in 1925. But by a cruel stroke of fate, Lord Curzon has not lived to see the publication of his book (1). Its two magnificent volumes represented more to him than the honours and dignities which were heaped upon him. The preparation of the book, he told his publisher a month before his death, had been a big part of his life. "It is my great book: I do not suppose I shall ever write another, and I have given to it unceasing years of labour. In a way, it is a child—a child I am proud of." Among the many letters received by the present writer from him, in which he sought for the verification of references and endeavoured to bring his information up to date, there is scarcely one from which this note of almost paternal affection and pride is absent. The book, he wrote in February last, "will give material for *Bengal: Past and Present*, to write about for years to come." He was fully justified in the claim. There is hardly a matter in connexion with the history of Calcutta which has not been probed to its depths, and in many instances an entirely fresh light has been thrown upon a vexed problem of topography. So abundant are the riches which he has provided that this review cannot pretend to do more than merely plunge at random into the treasure-chest.

Wellesley's majestic Government House furnishes Lord Curzon, naturally enough, with his opening theme: but he has also much that is new to say regarding the early residences of the Governors-General. Job Charnock and his successor Francis Ellis, are pictured as living in a thatched hut near the riverside. Here the "unconscious forerunner and father of dominion" smoked his hookah and did his huckstering with his Indian neighbours. All trace of this humble dwelling which stood at a considerable distance from the factory, has disappeared. It was accidentally burned down in December 1694 (2) and its contents were sold by public outcry for Rs. 575 (3).

(1) British Government in India: The Story of the Viceroy and Government Houses. by the Marquis Curzon of Kedleston, K. G., Viceroy and Governor General of India from January 1899 to May 1904, and again from December 1904 to November 1905. (London, Cassell and Company, Ltd.: Two Volumes: Three Guineas net or Rupees Fifty-Five and Annas Two).

(2) Charnock died on January 10, 1693: "armiger Anglus et nuper in hoc regno Bengalensi dignissimus Anglorum Agens", as the inscription upon his tombstone in St. John's churchyard records. The burning of "the House in which Agent Charnock formerly liv'd and lately Mr. Ellis" and the sale are noted in the Chuttanuttee Diary and consultations for April 8, 1695.

(3) Lord Curzon observes in this connexion: "The factory itself in those days was merely the pukka cutchery of the Mazumdar jagirdars: and accommodated the Company's official staff and records." But the contemporary evidence does not support him.

Sir John Goldsborough writes on October 20, 1693 (Hedges' Diary, Vol. II, p. xciv): "Upon Mr. Walshe's house bought for the Company, I intend to build upon the 2 Tarrasses 4 Rooms or chambers that I may bring in the Accomptant and the Secretaire and the broks and papers in their charge within the brick house, which now lay scattering about in Thachd Houses lyable to the hazard of fire every day."

The first actual Government House was a poor structure of brick and mud to the north of the present Custom House: and it was here that Charles Eyre, the son-in-law of Charnock, had his abode. It was pulled down in 1706, after suffering severe injury from storms; and adequate residence at last provided in the southern portion of Old Fort William. The new "Governor's House" was a "handsome regular structure" and occupied three sides of a rectangle, looking towards the east. Its main facade which was 245 feet long, faced the river and a colonnade, clearly indicated in Wills's plan of 1753, ran from the main entrance to the principal water-gate. A smaller ghaut stood near the north-west bastion: and it was here that Siraj-ud-daulah made his entrance into the Fort on the evening of June 20, 1756. The historic interview with Holwell and the survivors of the Black Hole on the following morning took place on the grass outside the eastern verandah of the house, when Holwell was given a large folio volume to sit upon and was questioned about the treasure which the Nawab had failed to find (4).

The next Government House, which was known as the Company's House, stood outside the Fort and to the south of it. It was a three-storeyed building and must have been acquired before 1742. It is plainly marked in the position indicated in a plan of Calcutta of that year. During the siege it did duty as an outpost. In 1767 this Government House was reported to be "in a decayed and ruinous condition," and shortly afterwards the grounds were converted into a Bankshall or Marine yard, which gives its name to the adjoining street. The actual site is divided between the office of the Military Accounts department and one of the old opium godowns.

In December 1769 the house of one Carvalho was purchased for Eyre Coote: and in January 1761 it passed into the possession of Henry Vansittart, who was Governor from 1760 to 1764. Lord Curzon places this house in the cul-de-sac running to the south out of Dalhousie Square which is known as Vansittart Row. Vansittart also bought a Garden House which Lord Curzon definitely identifies with the modern Loretto convent in Middleton Row. This house had been the property of William Frankland, one of the Members of Council who escaped from the Fort before its capture, and it cost Arcot Rs. 10,000 (5) which Vansittart had to pay out of his own pocket.

Clive, as we know, was twice Governor of Fort William: from June 27, 1758, to January 28, 1760, and again from May 3, 1765, to January 29,

(4) Holwell mainly attributes to Omichund the severity with which he and the other survivors were treated: and letters in the records show that when after the battle of Plassey the money sent to Calcutta was about to be distributed, a vigorous protest was made against any payment to Omichund, "because it is well known he was the chief instigator of the massacre of the Black Hole."—Forrest, *Life of Clive*, Vol. I, p. 330.

(5) The *bhari* or Company's Arcot rupee was coined at Calcutta and was in value $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent less than the sicca rupee, which again bore to the Company's rupee the proportion of 16 to 15.

1767. During the first period he lived in a house belonging to Huzuri Mal, the executor of Omichund; and when he returned he resided in the buildings on the Esplanade which were known as the New Council House and which are described by Hastings as "the habitation of former Governors". Lord Curzon admits that tradition strongly points to the house in Clive Street, subsequently inhabited by Francis, and now covered by the site of the Royal Exchange, and mentions also the claim put in on behalf of Messrs. Graham and Company's present premises in the same street. But he does not accept the view that after the recovery of Calcutta, no official residence was assigned for the use of the Governor.

The fourth Government House, was, then, the more westerly of the two buildings shewn in the sketches of Daniell and Baillie and in the plans of 1785 and 1792. It was erected in 1764 or 1765 as a Council House and stood in what is now the south-west corner of Government House compound immediately abutting on Council House Street, to which it gave its name. Warren Hastings in a minute dated February 9, 1775, makes it quite clear that from 1772 to 1775 he was "accommodated in the present Council House, which was entirely occupied by him for a dwelling". He then removed to the larger building which adjoined it on the east, and which was leased by the Company from Mahomed Raza Khan. But there was yet another building to the east, known as Buckingham House, in which Hastings eventually resided, while using the rented house for public entertainments. This is Lord Curzon's fifth Government House.

The sixth was the building within the modern Fort William which is now used as a soldiers' institute. It was here that Cornwallis lived; and also Wellesley while his Palace was under construction. But Lord Curzon quotes a passage from Burford's "Views of Calcutta" (1830) which goes to show that Wellesley had also a suite of rooms in "the house adjoining the Treasury Buildings" which was "connected with it by a kind of bridge or covered gallery". He was certainly staying there on the night of the great Ball on January 26, 1803, although the State entry into the new Government House had been made on April 20, 1802. His usual residence, however, while the building was in progress, was Barrackpore.

Lord Curzon examines with a profusion of detail the circumstances in which the new, or modern Government House came into being. The model taken was Kedleston House in Derbyshire: and no secret is made of the fact that it was the correspondence between the two houses which planted in Lord Curzon, from an early age, the ambition to pass to a Kedleston in Bengal. Both the old Government House (which was bought from the Chitpore Nawab for Rs. 1,07,733) and the Council House were pulled down: and the total cost of erection, including the purchase of adjoining lands and houses, and the laying out of two new streets (Government Place, North and Wellesley Place) amounted (according to the Governor-General's own figures) to sicca Rs. 13,01,286 or £162,660, taking the sicca rupees at two shillings and sixpence. The outlay on furniture absorbed a further

sicca Rs. 50,000, or £6,250. A total expenditure of some £170,000 was thus involved, a mere bagatelle, observes Lord Curzon, compared with the sums which have been, and will be, spent upon the erection of the new Viceregal Lodge at Delhi. The Directors, nevertheless, were aghast: and their censure was as emphatic as it was ineffective.

A whole chapter is devoted to a description of the exterior and the grounds; and another to the interior and its contents. Of the exterior, we may note that until about the year 1870, there was hardly a tree or a plant in the enclosure which, Calcutta residents may be surprised to hear, covers rather more than twenty-six acres. Lady Canning in 1857 was able to obtain an uninterrupted view from her room of the soldiers firing a *feu de joie* from the rampart of Fort William. As regards the interior, we learn that an attempt to restore the *chunam* to the pillars in the Marble Hall failed. The art has decayed even in Madras, its traditional home. Lord Curzon scoffs at the legend that the busts of the Twelve Caesars (which have happily been spared) were at one time among the ornaments of the Assembly room at the Old Court House and accompanied the portraits of Louis XV and his queen to Government House. Similiar busts are to be seen at Kedleston, and "the series of Caesars whether in marble or in plaster, was a familiar feature of the Palladian architecture of the eighteenth century." The tragic fate of the beautiful canopy in the Throne-room, which was copied under Lord Curzon's orders from the canopy in the Royal Palace at Munich, is related with emotion. When Lord Hardinge forsook Calcutta for Delhi, he ordered a sale by auction of the less important furniture—"a proceeding which excited much adverse comment"—and directed the removal of the more conspicuous articles. "Small regard was paid to their ultimate use or destruction": and eleven years later, the tattered remains of the canopy were discovered after prolonged search in a godown at Simla. The pictures have happily been treated with more reverence: and have been distributed among the Viceroy's three residences at Simla, Delhi, and Belvedere. Government House has become an empty shell: but Lord Curzon has not sat still under the blow. "I am glad to think," he writes, "that the orders and purchases and gifts for which I have been in the main responsible since I returned to England have provided the Victoria Memorial Hall with a collection not inferior to any that existed on the walls of Government House and in some respects more representative and interesting".

Yet there was a time when it seemed as though that beautiful building of pure white marble would never come into existence. In the eighth chapter Lord Curzon dwells upon the vicissitudes which attended the realization of his darling project. When he left India in 1905, the nucleus of the collection had been obtained, and the foundations had been well and truly laid. A year later he heard in London that his successor Lord Minto had taken back the pictures and other objects which had been loaned from Government House, and had returned their generous donations to the Indian Princes. The suspension of the building was even ordered on the alleged ground of the subsidence of the foundation.

The Victoria
Memorial Hall.

"The whole fabric which I had toiled so hard to raise seemed destined to collapse." With the help of Lord Morley, who was then Secretary of State, and of the "Times," these lamentable proceedings "were arrested; but the danger was not yet past. It was next proposed that the Memorial should be transferred to Delhi, "that cemetery of dead monuments and forgotten dynasties," which may represent much but can never take the place of Calcutta as the embodiment of the British Raj in India. Another suggestion was that the building should be handed over to the Legislative Council and that the two beautiful loggias (which furnish so appropriate a setting for the statues of Warren Hastings and Cornwallis) should be roofed over! By way of background "the 'white elephant' reappeared from his ancient stable and lumbered heavily across the stage." Finally the remnants of the collection were ejected from Belvedere, where they had found a home, and were placed in an adjoining shed.

Upon any other man, this succession of storms would have fallen with crushing effect. Lord Curzon was not to be daunted: *si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinae*: and on December 28, 1922, the building was opened by the Prince of Wales. Calcutta, it is to be hoped, has now learned to value the gift which the genius and persistence of this one man has bestowed upon her. "I have bequeathed something that will conquer death, and be better than gold."

Of the restoration of the Holwell Monument, Lord Curzon's other legacy to Calcutta, a full account is given in the seventh chapter. The issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XV, Serial No. 29) is unhappily out of print, in which Lord Curzon marshals all the evidence relating to the original Obelisk, and routs the small army of enthusiasts who have endeavoured to prove that the tragedy of the Black Hole was a figment of Holwell's imagination and that documentary evidence in favour of the existence of the Monument is either a hoax or a forgery. But all the authorities are again cited in these pages. The subject seems to have aroused him to a white heat of indignant enthusiasm: and as Taine said of Macaulay, *quand il frappe, il assomme*. Lord Curzon shows, by a continuous series of records covering the entire period from 1760 (when the Monument was put up) to 1821 (when it was taken down), firstly, that Holwell's Obelisk stood outside the eastern gate of the Fort where he himself had placed it: and secondly that for sixty years it was a prominent landmark of Calcutta which drew the attention of over a score of pens and pencils. The cumulative effect is complete. It is not credible that for upwards of half a century a monument should have been suffered to stand in a public place in Calcutta to commemorate a wholly fictitious event.

A special chapter is allotted to the various houses occupied by Warren Hastings in Calcutta: and here Lord Curzon is once more in his element.

Among all the houses whose pretensions [to historical importance] I explored, those that interested me most were the various dwell-

ings, almost bewildering in their number, that claimed to have been inhabited at one time or another by Warren Hastings or his wife, the beloved and bewitching Marian. I found this study to be one of extreme but absorbing perplexity, partly because Warren Hastings had undoubtedly invested largely in real estate during his long residence in Calcutta, and had also unquestionably at different times lived in quite a number of different houses, whether official or private: and also because the evidence was in many cases obscure and baffling and had been greatly embroiled either by legend or by the riotous imagination of a later day.

As a result of his investigations, Lord Curzon sits in judgement upon no less than thirteen buildings which claim the honour of occupation by Hastings. During the period of his first residence in Calcutta as a member of Council and before he sailed for England in February, 1765, he acquired both a town house, and a garden house in the suburbs. Lord Curzon does not attempt to locate the town house which was sold in March 1764 for Arcot Rs. 16,000 to the Council "for the Nabob's reception on his arrival in Calcutta". The country house he places in the neighbourhood of Belvedere, for permission was obtained by Hastings in June 1763 "to build a bridge over the Collighaut (Kali Ghat) nullah on the road to his garden house:" and the possibility is hinted at that it formed the nucleus of the large estate at Alipore which is said to have been presented to him by Mir Jafar (6). When Hastings returned as Governor in 1772, he occupied as official residences the two buildings on the Esplanade, which we have become acquainted with as the Council House and Buckingham House. These stood side by side on the site of the compound of the present Government House. At the same time he leased a house on the west side of Old Post Office Street between the years 1775 and 1779: and no doubt it was here that the Baroness Imhoff lived before her marriage with the Governor-General in 1777. In February 1779 we find Hastings proposing to the Board that "the house, the property of the late Colonel Fortnom, be taken for the Company on a lease of one year to commence from the 15th July at a rent of sicca rupees 1,200 a month for the accommodation of the Governor-General." A notice of sale which appeared in Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* on January 29, 1780 (7), permits of the positive identification of this house with the premises now known as 7 Hastings Street which were for so many years utilized by Messrs. Burn and Company as their business offices.

From the fact that the house was generally known as "Mrs. Hastings house" and that Hastings was in the habit of calling it "her house" in contradistinction to Buckingham House, his official residence, which was "his

(6) Mir Jafar is said to have resided in Calcutta in a lane in Pataldanga close to Mirzapore Street, which derives its name from him (A. K. Ray, *Short History of Calcutta*, p. 51). An attempt is being made (1925) to change the name to College Row.

(7) "The estate of the late Colonel John Fortnom, the elegant house occupied by the Governor-General, and the Godowns, situate to the south of the old Burial Ground and Powder Magazine": landmarks now obliterated by St. John's churchyard.

house" (8), it has been supposed that the house belonged to her. But the title-deeds afford convincing proof that it was the town house of Hastings himself. It was here that he entertained his friends to dinners and concerts while giving his official parties at Government House and the ceremonial receptions at Christmas and on the King's birthday at the Old Court House. It was here too that he placed the beautiful portrait of his wife by Zoffany, which is now one of the chief glories of the Victoria Memorial Hall collection—and placed it so that when he awoke in the morning, it was the first object upon which his eyes would rest (9). But it was not here that he left the old black bureau containing some highly prized papers and miniatures, which forms the subject of repeated and anxious enquiries in his letters to Nesbitt Thompson, and which was never recovered. For it is clear from the terms of the advertisement inserted in the *Calcutta Gazette* of September 6, 1787, that the bureau was "about the time of Mr. Hastings' departure from Bengal either stolen from his house on the Esplanade, or by mistake sold at the auction of his effects." The house on the Esplanade was Buckingham house (10).

Lord Curzon next deals with the Governor-General's country houses. It is known, he says, that Hastings had a house at Alipore called Belvedere which was in the immediate vicinity of the modern mansion known by that name. We hear of him as residing there in April 1775, as giving a concert in February 1776, and as leasing it to Colonel Tolley in February 1778 (11). Hastings House however was his favourite haunt. It was "newly-built" in February 1778, when Mackrabie walked over to it after dinner

(8) On December 8, 1780, Hastings writes to his wife who was then staying at Chinsurah: "I have migrated to my own house, but the Lyon roars so noisily that, suspecting that he might disturb my Rest, I am returned to *our* Bed for the Night." By "my own house" Hastings meant Buckingham House, in the compound of which a lion had been placed which had been brought down from the Upper Provinces. In a watercolour by James Hunter, which has just been purchased for the Victoria Memorial Hall and which gives a view of the back of Buckingham House, the lion is shown in a cage surrounded by spectators.

(9) The portrait was painted in Calcutta before Mrs. Hastings' departure in January, 1784. In a letter to his wife of February 11 in that year, Hasting tells her that "My greatest Suffering arose from the Contemplation of the Picture before me as I lay on my Bed and the Reflection of the vast Distance which separated m from my Marian." It followed him to England. Nesbitt Thompson writes to Hastings on April 20, 1785: "By the *Cornwallis* went Mrs. Hastings' picture. It is a sublime performance. Zophany does not usually excel in the delineation of female beauty, but here his subject has given him new powers." On March 29, 1787, Hastings informs him that the picture had been packed so negligently that it "arrived almost spoiled": and Zoffany was commissioned to paint a replica. Mrs. Hastings did not think very highly of the painting: for she hung it in a remote corner of Daylesford House. Our readers must judge for themselves from the reproduction on the opposite page, which is taken from a photograph by Mr. F. Harrington.

(10) The positive statement in the advertisement disposes (says Lord Curzon) of that part of the ghost story attached to Hastings House at Alipore, which endeavours to connect the missing bureau with the Governor-General's nightly visit in a phantom coach and four.

(11) Lord Curzon (Vol. I, p. 141) gives the year as 1788: but this is an obvious slip: for the lease was converted into a sale in August, 1780.



WARREN HASTINGS' FAVOURITE PORTRAIT OF HIS WIFE:
From the Painting by J. Zoff any, R.A.
in the Victoria Memorial Hall

from Francis' bungalow (12). "'Tis a pretty toy, but very small, though airy and lofty." Impey was invited to stay there in November, 1779; and William Hodges, the artist, who came out to India in March 1781, says of it that it was "the first house in Calcutta which deserves the name of a piece of architecture." After Hastings' departure, the house passed through various hands and was finally bought by Lord Curzon in 1901 for something under two lakhs. The design to use it as a Government Guest House was frustrated by the hegira to Delhi: and after a brief interlude, during which it served as a public school for Indian boys, it was allotted to various officers in the service of the Government of India who have been omitted from the general exodus.

Warren Hastings had also a house with 216 bighas of ground in the northern suburb of Chitpore, known as Cossipore Garden. There is no evidence that he ever occupied, it, but he sold it (probably when he left India) to Cudbert Thornhill, a famous Calcutta character, who was master attendant from 1785 to 1808. Another country house at Rishra, two miles below Serampore, has been swallowed up by a couple of jute-mills. The estate was certainly sold by Hastings in November 1784: but once more there is no evidence that the Governor-General ever lived there, and the house known as Hastings Lodge which is approached by an avenue of mango trees, is rejected, as a building of later date. He did however make excursions to Sooksagar, which lay a little beyond the old Dutch factory at Chinsurah. The house is mentioned by Colesworthy Grant in his "Rural life in Bengal" (which was written in 1860) and Forbes in his "Oriental Memoirs" (1813) describes it as "an elegant house of European architecture." It will be looked for in vain to-day, for the river has long ago washed it away.

Finally, Lord Curzon disposes summarily of two "pretenders." The first of these is the house at the corner of Old Court House Street and Esplanade East, once occupied by Messrs. Scott Thomson and Company, the chemists, and now replaced by Ezra Mansions. It was said on the authority of Dr. G. R. Ferris, a member of the firm, that the initials of Hastings were to be seen scratched on one of the windows of the house. But Lord Curzon could find no one who had seen the inscription: and he dismisses the story as a myth. Equally short shrift is given to the claim of No. 9 Esplanade East, where a panelled room on the first floor was alleged to have been the Council Chamber of Hastings. The title-deeds which were inspected by Lord Curzon lent no support to the theory (13). Hastings did

(12) The Magistrate's house at Alipore. Thackeray lived here as a child when his father Richmond Thackeray was in charge of the Twenty Four Pergunnahs from 1812 to 1815.

(13) Lord Curzon similarly throws discredit upon the legend which associates No. 51 Bentinck Street, (the former premises of Messrs. Llewelyn and Company) with the first Lord Minto, and even with Warren Hastings. The apartments, which are supposed to have served as throne-room, waiting-room, ante-room and bed-room, are fine and spacious: but the title-deeds do not furnish the necessary link.

live in a house on the Esplanade, but, as we have seen, this was Buckingham House.

The sites of the two Council Houses have been subjected to the same careful analysis. Lord Curzon has found nothing in the official records to indicate where the meetings of the Council were held prior to the capture of Fort William in 1756. But it may safely be assumed that the Governor's House in the Fort contained a Council chamber. After the recovery of Calcutta, it was resolved on June 22, 1758, that "the dwelling house of the late Mr. Richard Court be purchased for the Honourable Company," as "it will be proper to have a room to hold our Councils in, contiguous to the Secretary's and Accountant's offices" (14). Where was this house? No building bearing the name of Court is to be found in Wills' map of 1753: and none of the various sites which have been suggested will bear investigation. It has been reserved for Lord Curzon to "lay this uneasy and long-lived ghost."

Just as these pages were going into print, there was unearthed an extract from the "India Gazette or Calcutta Public Adventurer" of 3rd March 1781 to the following effect: "To be let or sold, the House known by the name of the old Council House, next door to the old export warehouse. For particulars please to enquire of Mr. Edward Mullins at the Commercial Council House. (15).

Now, the old export warehouse was built against the south bastion of the old Fort on the site of what is incorrectly styled Koila (instead of Killa or Fort) Ghat Street: and the Council House must have stood in that street, perhaps at its juncture with Bankshall Street. In 1773 we find it advertised for sale as "a cutcha building with a detached building for a godown, cook room etc. and a compound, part surrounded with a railing, containing 4 beeghas, 11 cottahs of ground": and in a minute of February 1775, Warren Hastings describes it as having "fallen to ruins." It was in this Council House that Stanlake Batson on June 9, 1763 gave Hastings the lie and struck him in the face (16).

(14) Richard Court was a senior merchant who survived the Black Hole and was sent in chains to Moorsshedabad with Holwell, Burdett, and Ensign Walcot. He had been nominated to Council but was drowned in the Hooghly in May 1758.

(15) "In conformity to the Orders of our Hon'ble Employers," Committees were constituted in March 1771 "for the Comptrolling and directing of every Branch of the Company's Affairs in Bengal and Behar." One of these was the Committee of Commerce under which was placed "all Business relative to the Investment."

(16) Henry Vansittart, the Governor, had protested against the claim put forward by the Company's servants to freedom from transit duties in connexion with their private speculations. His supporter in Council was Hastings who together with the Governor, was charged in a minute delivered by Batson with "acting the part of a retained solicitor of the Nabob rather than of a servant of the Company or a British subject." Batson was suspended and Vansittart and Hastings refused to sit with him ever after he had apologized and been reinstated by the votes of the majority. It was therefore decided that the minutes of each Council should be submitted to them in their own houses.

On October 15, 1764, the Council "agreed to build a new council room at a convenient distance from the offices." The building thus erected occupied three sides of a quadrangle facing the Esplanade, but separated from it by a low wall surmounted by an iron railing, and it stood in the south west corner of the compound of the present Government House. Mention has already been made of it as Government House no. 4. Its destruction was ordered by Wellesley in 1800; and henceforward the Council-chamber formed part of Government House itself. Twenty three holders of the office of Governor-General have presided in that chamber: and the chair in which the President of the Bengal Legislative Council sits at the Town Hall, is their chair. But the vanished Council House was even fuller of historic memories. Here it was that in August 1780, Francis after a meeting of the Council drew Hastings aside and handed to him the written challenge which resulted in the famous duel at Alipore (17). Here also three years earlier Clavering and Francis met "at the General Council Table" in June 20, 1777 and dictated a letter to Hastings calling upon him to deliver over charge of the office of Governor-General.

A discovery of considerable interest has been made by Lord Curzon regarding the origin of Barrackpore as a country residence for the Governor-General. In April 1785 Captain John Macintyre offered to sell two bungalows and 220 bighas of land to the Government, either for the extension of the cantonment (which had been founded ten years earlier) or for the convenience of the Commander-in-Chief. The offer was accepted, and the property was purchased for Rs. 25,000, and the bungalow handed over to the Commander-in-Chief, with the approval of John Macpherson, who had succeeded Hastings as Governor-General. If Cornwallis lived there, as Lord Valentia asserts, it was because he was both Governor General and Commander-in-Chief: and if Shore received Rs. 500 a month for the hire of a country residence for himself, it was not because he gave up the Barrackpore house to the Commander-in-Chief, but because the allowance had naturally lapsed during the time of Cornwallis. In 1801, however, the place was actually appropriated by Lord Wellesley as the property of the Governor-General. The fortunate acquisition at the sale of the Wellesley MSS. at Christies in February 1918, of the original autograph letter in which Wellesley, on the last day of December, 1800, gave notice to the retiring Commander-in-Chief, Sir Alured Clarke, has enabled Lord Curzon to solve all doubts (18). Wellesley wrote:

I have examined the whole question with attention, and I am perfectly satisfied that the country Residence at Barrackpore is entirely

(17) Lord Curzon has discovered among the Hastings MSS. at the British Museum the Governor-General's own story of the encounter: and prints it on pp. 153-154 of his second volume. We reproduce it on pages 50 and 51 of this issue.

(18) The letter, together with several other autograph letters of Wellesley and one of the Duke of Wellington, was acquired by Lord Curzon for the Victoria Memorial Hall: where it may be seen.

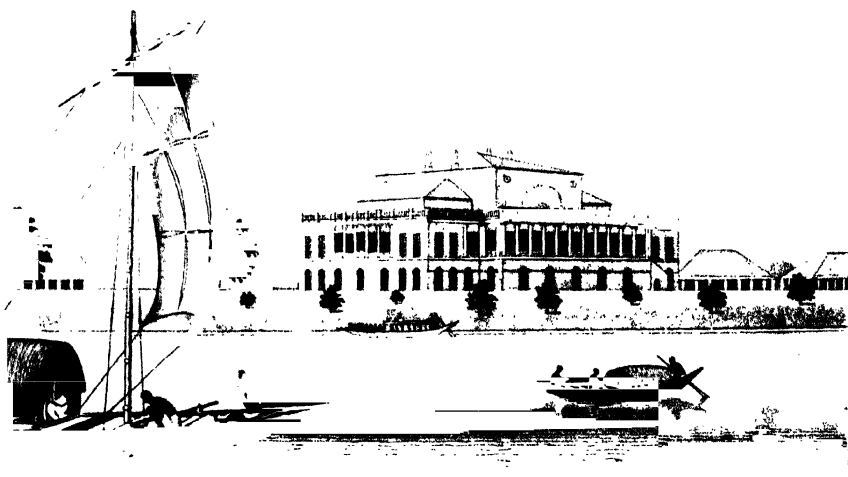
at the disposal of the Government, that it has accidentally passed into the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, and that it is resumable at the pleasure of the Governor-General in Council. It is therefore evident to me that no right of the Commander-in-Chief would be affected by the resumption of the Place, whenever any person holding my station might think fit to resume it I have stated these considerations merely for the purpose of apprizing you of the general reasons which have determined me (whenever you shall embark for Europe and your personal convenience shall no longer be in question) to resume the Residence at Barrackpore: and to annex it permanently to the Government General; making such an arrangement for the accommodation of your successor as he may judge most eligible..... It is my intention to pass the approaching Hot Season at Barrackpore, and, with this view, it would be extremely convenient for me to obtain possession of the place as soon as possible, for the purpose of preparing the House more effectually against the Heat.

The Commander-in-Chief expressed his acquiescence on the day following: and the house was resumed on February 1, the monthly allowance of Rs. 500 being transferred to the Commander-in-Chief, "for the purposes of providing him with a garden house in the room of the house at Barrackpore." On June 27, 1801, the autocrat writes to Lady Anne Barnard, the authoress of "Robin Adair", to tell her that he was "residing almost entirely at Barrackpore, a charming spot which in my usual spirit of tyranny, I have plucked from the Commander-in-Chief."

In his defence to the Directors Wellesley says that the house he thus took over was "an old cottage in a state of considerable decay." Lord Valentia, who visited him there on February 3, 1803, is more complimentary.

The situation of this house is much more pleasing than anything I have yet seen. It is considerably elevated above the Hooghly river, on a very extended reach of which it stands: on the sides are pagodas, villages and groves of lofty trees. The water itself is much clearer than at Calcutta, and covered with the state barges and cutters of the Governor General. These, painted green, and ornamented with gold, contrasted with the scarlet dresses of the rowers, were a great addition to the scene. The park is laid out in the English style, and the house at present unfinished is well adapted to the climate, having a beautiful verandah on every side, and the rooms being on a very ample scale.

It will be seen that Wellesley had lost no time in converting the surrounding land which he described as "covered with jungle or swamps" into the beautiful Park which Calcutta knows so well. But he was not content with landscape gardening. He demolished the existing bungalow and commenced to build a "country villa" on its site, the present Govern-



A VIEW OF BARRACKPORE HOUSE ON THE RIVER HOOGHLY.
DRAWN BY JAMES MOFFAT : 1810.



WELLESLEY'S GOVERNMENT HOUSE : FROM THE "OLD COURSE."
DRAWN BY SIR CHARLES D'OYLY : 1830.

ment House, described as "a new bungalow", being constructed higher up the river to serve as a temporary residence.

His ideas however of the projected house were hardly of the "country villa" type (observes Lord Curzon) unless it were a villa of the Caesars. The building was to cost from three to four lakhs: and a part of the scheme was said to involve the bringing up of all the public offices from Calcutta and planting them in Barrackpore Park. But when he retired from the scene in August 1805, the lower storey alone had been completed. Cornwallis, on coming out for the second time, at once ordered the work to be discontinued. Under the first Lord Minto (1807-1813) the walls remained untouched: but such of the materials as escaped destruction by a fire in the depot at Calcutta where they were stored, were sold by auction for little or nothing. Finally the shell was removed during the latter part of the administration of the Marquess of Hastings (1813-1823) who is said at one time to have contemplated completion on a reduced scale, but eventually contented himself with the enlargement of the present house. When Maria Graham came to Barrackpore in 1810, "the unfinished arches showed by moonlight like an ancient ruin."

Where did this "abortive palace" stand? Lord Curzon has settled this question also. It is known that Lady Hastings (who was Countess of Loudoun in her own right) built a greenhouse or conservatory on the site: and search in the India Office has revealed a copy of a map of 1841 by Charles Joseph, which cannot be traced in Calcutta. The Green House is there shown on the river bank at a spot almost identical with the existing bandstand in the Park and immediately below the lower landing place. "This then was the actual site of such vaulting ambition and such sad disaster".

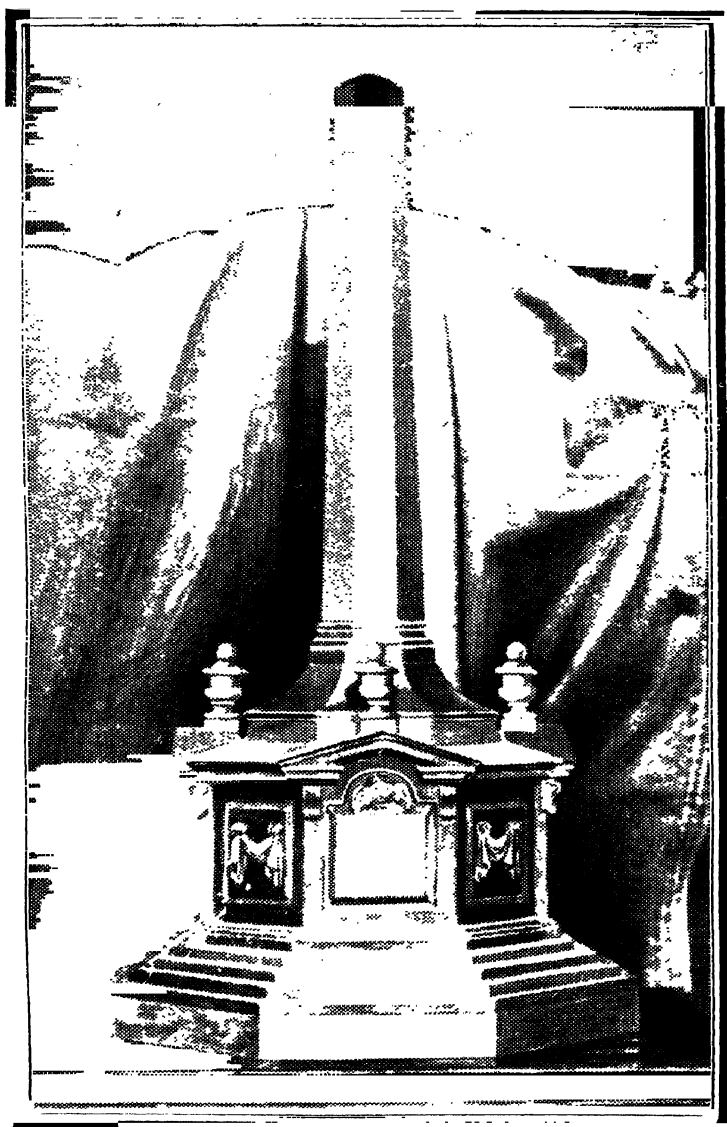
As for the existing house, it consisted when Wellesley left India, of three large rooms opening into a verandah. Minto calls it "a makeshift", but did nothing to enlarge it. It was reserved for Lord Hastings, as has been said, to make the substantial additions which more than doubled its size and converted the building into its present form. Lord Curzon cites a succession of appreciative witnesses, who have succumbed to the charms of Barrackpore. But Emily Eden after her first summer in Bengal, thought it was "a shame to stop Lord Wellesley when he was running up another good Government House", and complained of "the want of glass windows in the lower storey, and of doors to the interior of our part of the house." Dalhousie declared that the place reconciled him to a residence in Bengal: but when his wife, with whom he had spent so many happy hours there, died at sea on her way to England in 1854, he did not go near the spot for nearly two years. Lady Canning whose tomb is in the Park died at Government House Calcutta in November, 1861, of malarial fever caught in the Terai on her way back from Darjeeling: but both she and her husband were so devoted to Barrackpore that he decided to hurry her there. Lord Curzon indicates plainly enough that his own affection for its restful beauties is not less than that of any of his predecessors. The Viceroy, he thinks, should

have retained Barrackpore as a residence to which he could come on the occasion of his visits to Calcutta: and Lord Hardinge did make the experiment. Fortunately for the Governors of Bengal, Lord Chelmsford took a different view and Belvedere was eventually preferred.

In one of Sir Charles D'Oyly's views of Calcutta (1820) the Governor-General and party are represented riding on elephants in the grounds, with the Bodyguard in incongruous attendance. Another shows the menagerie, which was originally intended by Wellesley to be an adjunct to his College of Fort William at Garden Reach, and after being swept away remorselessly by Lord William Bentinck, was restored by Lord Auckland and finally extinguished by the first Earl of Lytton who handed the inmates over to the Zoological Gardens at Alipore. Lord Curzon has not been able, when making mention of the elephants, to resist repudiation of the newspaper story that he and his family rode "promiscuously and habitually" on these animals when in India. He points out that whereas in 1852 the *hatikhana* consisted of 146 elephants and that when Lord Dufferin arrived in 1885 there were still 35, the number had shrunk in Lord Lansdowne's time to three of which one, said to have been ridden by Warren Hastings, was drowned while crossing the Ganges. Lord Elgin found only one: and abolished the whole *hatikhana* in January 1895. So far then was it beyond the power of Lord Curzon to disport himself on an elephant "whose gait I abominated", that he was obliged to borrow from the Maharajas of Jaipur and Benares on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar of 1903. The great silver state howdah and the embroidered *jhools* now adorn the entrance hall of Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

While the official residences in Calcutta and at Barrackpore absorb the major part of Lord Curzon's attention he does not omit to supply a series of admirable sketches of their occupants. For these the reader must be referred to the book itself. Nor can we attempt in this place to discuss his "Notes upon the Viceroyalty". Our review has already run to an inordinate length: and if an excuse be demanded, we can only plead the extraordinary fascination which is exercised alike by Lord Curzon's literary style and by the meticulous care which he has bestowed upon every one of the matters he has examined. Accuracy is indeed, one of the distinguishing features of the book: but even Homer was known to nod: and we conclude with noticing one or two instances of lapse, which must no doubt be attributed to the tragic circumstances in which the proof sheets were revised.

There is a curious slip on page 126 of the second volume. Mentioning the various individuals who have filled the office of private secretary to the Governor-General, Lord Curzon rightly places George Nesbitt Thompson as the first of the line. But he is obviously confusing him with General William Palmer when he goes on to say that Thompson "became a Resident at more than one Indian court, and rose to the rank of Lieutenant General." Again, on page 139 of the same volume, there is a comment of some asperity upon the absence of an effigy of Lord Ripon from the



MODEL OF HOLWELL'S MONUMENT:
EXECUTED BY HIS SON, LT. COL. JAMES HOLWELL.

memorials upon the Maidan. Lord Curzon does not seem to have been aware that a statue of that Viceroy by Mr. F. Derwent Wood R. A., was erected as long ago as 1915, and that it stands on the Red Road between the statues of the fourth Lord Minto and Lord Dufferin. And here we may interject that his Excellency Lord Lytton, the present Governor of Bengal, was not born at Government House, Calcutta, as stated on page 64 of the second volume, but at Peterhof, the predecessor of the modern Viceregal Lodge at Simla. On page 83 of the first volume, the Dutch gun captured at Cabul in 1879, which stands in the grounds of Government House, is said to bear the monogram V. G. C. The legend should be V. O. C. for the letters represent the words "Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie." We notice next, in the second footnote on page 125 of the same volume, an interesting account of the two portraits of Wellesley by Robert Home which were once in the Government House collection. The first of these which is now at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi, is remarkable by reason of the carved and gilded tiger's heads below the frame, and, says Lord Curzon, "appears to be the picture voted by the city of Calcutta, to whom it accordingly belongs". But this is not the portrait which is reproduced (as Lord Curzon thinks) by way of frontispiece to the first volume. That is the finer picture (with St. Mary's Church at Madras in the background) which is at Simla and which Lord Curzon has ascertained from a Bengal Letter of July 24, 1832, to the Court of Directors, to have been brought to Calcutta from the Government House at Singapore. The word "latter" should be substituted for the word "former" in the last line of the note. Finally, we have failed to find the illustration of the model of the Black Hole monument prepared by Holwell's son, to which reference is made on page 150 of the first volume. It is stated to be in the possession of a gentleman in England connected by marriage with one of Holwell's descendants. We reproduce it from a block in the Society's possession which was prepared for use with the article contributed by Lord Curzon (as we have already said) to Volume XV of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

H. E. A. COTTON.

The Hastings-Francis Duel.

THE following is Hastings' own account of his duel with Francis in 1780.

It is written in a little paper booklet of forty-five manuscript pages, in a marbled cover, and was discovered by Lord Curzon among the Hastings MSS. which were bequeathed to the British Museum by Miss Marian Winter, the great-niece of Mrs. Hastings.

Aug. 17th. The next morning Coll. Pearse by Appt. called on me, but before ye Time, at about a Qr. after 4. I laid down again on ye Couch for half an Hour. Then dressed and went wh. him in his Carriage. Met ye Troopers on ye way and dismissed ym. Arrived at Belvidere exactly at ye time proposed—at 5-30, found Mr. F. and Coll. Watson walking on ye road. Some time was consumed in looking for a private place—went along ye road to Mr. Barwell's, stopped between ye village and the House. Our Seconds proposed yt we sd. stand at a measured Distance wh. both (taking a recent Example in Engd.) fixed at 14 paces, & Coll. Watson paced & marked 7. I stood to ye Southward. There was (as I recollect) no wind. Our Seconds (Coll. Watson I think) proposed yt. no advante. shd. be taken, but each chuse his own Time to fire—I sd. have said yt. Coll. Pearse loaded my pistols on ye ground wh. two cartridges wh. he had prepared. I had resolved to defer my Fire yt. I might not be Embarrassed wh. his. He snapped but the Pistol missed Fire. The Second put a fresh priming to it and chapped ye Flints. I still purposed to receive ye first Fire, but Mr. F. twice aiming and withdrawing his pistol, I judged yt. I might seriously take my Aim at him. I did so and when I thought I had fixed ye true Direction I fired. His pistol went off at ye same Time & so near ye same Instant that I am not certain wh. was first, but believe mine was first, and that his followed in ye Instant. He staggered immy, his Face expressed a sensation of bg. struck and his limbs shortly but gradually went under him, & he fell saying, but not loudly, "I am dead." I ran to him, Shocked I own at ye Information, & i can safely Say without any immediate sensation of Joy for my own success. The Seconds also ran to his Assistance. I saw his Coat pierced in ye right side, & feared ye Ball had passed through him: but he sat up without much Difficulty several Times and once attempted wh. our help to stand, but his Limbs failed him, & he sank to ye ground. Coll. W. yn proposed yt. as we had met from a point of Honor & not for personal rancour

we sd. join Hands (or that Mr. F. sd. give me his). We did so; Mr. F. chearfully & I expressed my regret at ye condn. to wh. I saw him reduced. He found most ease lying on his Back. A cot was brot from Major Tolley's he havg. no palikeen, & he was conveyed upon it to Belvidere, where he remains. Coll. P. & I returned to my House in Town. We went to seek Dr. Campbell & I desired Dr. Francis to follow. Both immedy went. They found ye wound not dangerous, havg. entd. the side before ye seam of ye waistcoat a little below ye shoulder, and passing through both Muscles & within ye skin which covers ye back bone, was lodged within a visible distance of ye skin in ye opposite side.

As soon as I returned home, I sent Mr. Markham to Sr. E. to inform him of what had passed & that I should wait ye Event wh. if fatal I sd. instantly surrender myself to him, that ye law mt. take its Course agt. me.

Mr. Barwell's house is of course, the building afterwards known as Kidderpore House. The allusion to "the recent example in England" is to the duel between Charles James Fox and Adams in 1779. "Sr. E." is obviously Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice. Dr. Daniel Campbell was the Surgeon-General and went home with the Impeys in 1783. Dr. Clement Francis was the Governor-General's Surgeon.

As Lord Curzon observes, the narrative demonstrates with unerring clearness the firm deliberation with which Hastings aimed and fired.

Jesuit Letters from Bengal, Arakan & Burma (1599-1600.)

A NEW VERSION OF THE ANNUAL LETTER OF GOA (DECEMBER 1,
1600), DATED SEPTEMBER 8, 1602.

IN 1917 or earlier I translated Fr. Nicholas Pimenta's Annual Letter of Goa, December 1, 1600, from the *Exemplum/ Epistolae P./ Nicolai Pimentae Provin-/ciae Orientalis In-/diae Visitatoris/ad/admodum R. P. Clav-/dium Aquavivam Praepo-/situm Generalem Societatis/Iesu,/de statu rei Christia-/nae in India Orientali Calendis De-/cembris anno/1600 datae./ Excursum primo Romae/apud Ludovicum Zanetti 1602./Nunc vero/Moguntiae Apud Joannem/ Albinum/anno eodem (1).*

The Latin text of this Mainz edition was translated from the Italian by "I.B., S.J.," that is to say, Joannes Busaeus or Jan Buijs, S.J., of Nijmegen. A faithful reprint of this translation will be found among other collections in Fr. John Hay's *De Rebus Iaponicis, Indicis, et Pervanis Epistolae Recentiores* (Antverpiae, anno MDCV [1605], pp. 809-859).

Recently I found that a manuscript Latin text of an Annual Letter of Fr. Nicholas Pimenta, dated September 8, 1602 (MSS. of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Hist.*, 1600-1621; *Goa*, 33; *Litt. Ann.*, September 8, 1602) supplies another version of the text printed at Mainz and Antwerp. The differences were sufficiently great to warrant a new translation.

I may remark that Father Pierre du Jarric, S.J., seems to have utilised yet another source than those enumerated above for his *Troisiesme partie de l'histoire des choses plus memorables* (Bordeaux, 1614, pp. 826-834, 840-847).

H. HOSTEN, S.J.

(Fol. 60 recto). 1. Next comes the mission of Bengala, about the origin of which I wrote to your Paternity last year. I shall now add a few particulars about its progress, for letters from our Fathers have given us more information about the country itself and allow us to hope better results from that Mission.

2. Bengala is a vast country, stretching far and wide in every direction. The sea-coast alone, from East to West measures six hundred miles. The first and real inhabitants of this country are those whom we call Bengalas. They follow heathenish rites. Some Mahometan Patanes,

(1) The portion concerning Mogor [Hindustan] was published by me in *The Examiner* (Bombay) of October 11, 1919 (pp. 407-409). The translation was made from the Mainz edition. I have in manuscript the translations of the Jesuit Letters on Bengal, Arakan, and Burma for 1598-1610.

who live amongst them rebelled and took up arms against them; but they were not allowed to enjoy long their ill-gotten power. The Mongols or Mogores, a nation bordering on the Bengalas, expelled the Patanes, killing their King and their Chiefs, and took possession of the kingdom. Twelve princes, however, called Boyones (2) who governed twelve provinces in the late King's name, escaped from this massacre. These united against the Mongols, and hitherto, thanks to their alliance, each maintains himself in his dominions. Very rich and disposing of strong forces, they bear themselves as Kings, chiefly he of Siripur (3), also called Cadaray, and he of Chandecan (4), but most of all the Mansondolin (5). The Patanes, being

(2) See my article *The Twelve Bhuiyas or Landlords of Bengal*, in J. A. S. B. IX (1913) no. 10 pp. 437-440.

(3) *Siripur*, or *Sripur*—on the right bank (?) of the river Meghna, and situated not far from Rajabari in the Munshiganj subdivision of the Dacca district. All trace of the site, including the church, has been washed away. The place is mentioned by Rennell (Mem. A.S.B. Vol. III). Ralph Fitch visited Sripur in 1586 and writes:

From Satagan [Satgaon] I travelled by the country of the King of Tippara or Porto Grande [Chittagong] with whom the Mogores or Mogen [query: both the Moghuls and the Maghs of Arakan] have almost continuall warres.....From Chatigan [Chittagong] in Bengala I came to Bakla [identified by Fr. H. Josson, S.J., in his *Mission du Bengale occidental* (Bruges, 1921, Vol. I, 55, map) as a place in the Backerganj district].....From Bacola I went to Serrepore [Sripur] which standeth upon the river of Ganges: the king is called Choudery [Chaudhari]. They be all hereabouts rebels against their king Zebaldin Echebar [Jalal-ud-din Akbar], for there are so many rivers and Islands that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot prevaile against them.....Sinnergaon [Sunargaon] is a towne six leagues from Serrepore where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India.....Great store of Cotton cloth goeth from hence and much Rice, wherewith they serve all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places..... I went from Serrepore the 28th of November, 1586 for Pegu in a small ship or foist of one Albert Caravallas [Carvalho] and so passing down the Ganges and passing by the Island of Sundiva [Sandwip], Porto Grande or the Countrie of Tippera, the kingdom of Recon [Arakan] and Mogen [of the Maghs], leaving them on our left with a faire wind at north-west, our course was South by East, which brought us to the barre of Negrais in Pegu.

Dominic Carvalho was in 1602 in the service of Raja Kedar Rai [Cadaray] the Bhuiya Raja of Sripur. In September, 1603, he was decoyed into Pratapaditya's palace at Jessore and killed and the Fathers and Christians had to leave Chandecan. A letter of Fr. Andrew de Nabais of January 25, 1602, shows that there were at that time at the Portuguese settlement of Chandecan some fifteen Portuguese, a number of topasses (Indian or half-caste Christians, speaking Portuguese as well as the vernacular), and one Augustinian priest. Half a league away, near the Jesuit Church, lived three Portuguese, and some married topasses and Indian converts.

(4) The capital of the Raja of Chandecan (Pratapaditya) is difficult to determine. Fr. H. Josson (op. cit. Vol. I, p. 53, n. 1) places it in the extreme east of the modern district of Khulna. I believe it was at Jessore. Mr. H. Beveridge (J. A. S. B. 1876, Vol. XLV, Part I) identified it with Dhumghat, near the modern bazar of Kaliganj, which is eighteen miles to the north of the town of Jessore. Vikramaditya, the father of Pratapaditya (one of the Barah Bhuiyas, or Twelve Chiefs) had obtained the estate of Chand Khan from King Daud. See my article on the Twelve Bhuiyas in J. A. S. B. IX (1913), pp. 441-442, where the authorities are cited.

(5) *Mansondolin* is a corruption of *Masnad-i-Ali*, the title of Isa Khan, the Bhuiya Raja of Khizarpur, near Narayanganj.

they use their proper name, they would be at once devoured by them. But (and admire the providence of God!) nature has provided a wonderful remedy against this evil. There is an animal, like a small dog, called the Peva, which, when it sees a Tiger, starts barking, thus warning the people and the other animals to be on their guard; after that it pursues the Tiger with such eagerness and tenacity that, after keeping him famished for many days by preventing him from finding his prey anywhere, it causes him at last to perish of hunger; this one dead, it goes at once in search of another Tiger and kills him in the same way (15).

5. But let us return to our subject now. As I wrote to Your Paternity, Fathers Francis Fernandez, Dominic Sosa, Melchior Fonseca and John Andrew Boves were sent to Bengala to open the door to the preaching of the Gospel among those nations, and help the Portuguese settled there and greatly in need of our ministrations, by saying Mass, preaching and administering the Sacraments. It pleased God in his immeasurable goodness that, from the very start the members of our Society should win the good graces of the princes of those nations, so that they gave them not unwillingly what they required, even granting them leave to build Churches and houses, to preach the law of God, and to convert to the Christian faith those who are willing. The instructions given to ours are to establish themselves permanently as soon as possible in some suitable place, where two can live together, while at regular intervals two go about in quest of souls. If God sends more helpers, I think more residences can be established, such is the piety of the Portuguese, such the eagerness of the Gentiles and the great opinion all have of our Order. But to make this clearer by entering into details, I shall tell you what I have learned from the Fathers' own letters. Here are copies of two of them. [Fol. 61 recto].

6. The letter of Fr. Francis Fernandez, dated Dianga (16) the 11th before the Kalends of January of the year [15]99 (17) says as follows:—

"Last year, when the ships set sail (18), Fr. Dominic Sosa and I remained at Dianga. The Master and Captain in this country is Manoel de Matos, who lives at the harbour of Chatigan, a place of call for the ships

(15) Is there not question here of packs of wild dogs, which are known to pursue tigers and to make them relinquish their prey: even to worry them to death?

(16) *Dianga* is at the mouth of the Karnaphuli river, on the south bank, before reaching Chittagong. I visited *Dianga* from Chittagong in 1920. The journey there and back in a small country boat took me practically the whole day. It lies near the river-mouth, within a mile or two of the sea; the river near by shapes like a bay, in which many ships can lie at anchor. Nothing remains to indicate that the place was ever occupied by the Firingis, whose duties, it seems, consisted in keeping off the "Mogors" from Arakan: yet half a dozen Firingi families can be found lingering near the spot. They are Catholics, but otherwise hardly distinguishable from their Indian neighbours. (See page 76 for a further note on *Dianga*).

(17) December 22, 1599. Should Fr. Pimenta not have said "11th before the Kalends of 1600"?

(18) Query: for Portuguese India? He wrote to Fr. Pimenta from Sripur on January 17,



*BANDER, de Nieuw-Banck, vernoemd de Nieuwe
Bantam.*

*BANDER, de Nieuw-Banck, vernoemd de Nieuwe
Bantam.*

van der

THE HARBOUR OF DIANGA:
AT THE MOUTH OF THE KARNAPHULI RIVER.

From a Dutch Print.

from India (19). We were detained rather long here by the many confessions of people of both sorts (20), many of whom had for two years been without a confessor (21). Very many, therefore, received both the Holy Eucharist and the Sacrament of Confession, so much so that not a day passed when many did not approach the Holy Table. But, as there was no Church in the land, we were obliged to say Mass on an altar erected in our house, until at last, at our suggestion, the Church was built which we use now. Thanks to ours, many restitution were made, which for Bengala is as good as a miracle; many were happily ^{freed} from the occasions of sin offered by their own homes, in which occasions ^{the} settlers living to the no small scandal of the people; many finally, whose unions for many years been illicit, were joined in lawful wedlock. And this is the chief fruit generally reaped among the old Christians in Bengala. Such was the number of confessions to be heard in those days that we could not finish with them before the beginning of Lent. As I had promised to the people of Siripur that I would preach to them during Lent, I left at Dianga Father Dominic Sosa, that he might hear the confessions of the many then going to the harbours of Pegu (22) and I went myself to Siripur. On the Sundays of Lent and on the Fridays I preached there on our Lord's Passion, as is done at Goa. To the Bengalas (23) it was something new and unwonted; hence it excited much curiosity and produced on their minds an incredible impression. The processions were enhanced by a long file of disciplinants, the children going ahead in neat white surplices. Although preaching kept me so busy, I could not escape from hearing confessions; nay, besides many others, I heard the confession of the chief people of this settlement. One of them, on coming home after hearing the sermon, repaid to his creditor a no small debt. I spent the whole winter (24) at Siripur with equal success. I produced but little fruit among the Gentiles of this station, first because of the land's sterility, and secondly because I was alone and did not know the Bengalic language. A certain rich Mahometan Sodegar (25) had been killed by the Portuguese. His wife, a prudent serious woman, after hearing repeatedly the Christian faith explained through an interpreter, acknowledged the true faith and was baptised. Someone, against all right and law, wanted to enslave for his father's debt a child of honourable birth and good character. I came to his help in good time and taught

(19) Sc. Portuguese India.

(20) "Of both sorts"—sc. Portuguese and Indian Christians.

(21) Since these confessions were heard in the Lent of 1599, the congregations must have been visited in or about the Lent of 1597, before the Jesuit mission arrived. There were, therefore, either secular priests, or religious, moving about the country. This system of touring had, probably, been in vogue for a number of years already: but not much is known of the period preceding the Jesuit mission.

(22) Apparently in order to assist the Raja of Arakan in his war against Pegu.

(23) Query: "Christians in Bengal."

(24) "Winter" is here used for the rainy season, or monsoon.

(25) Sodegar: Pers. saudagar, merchant.

him the Christian doctrine (26). He learned it by heart so quickly that, though he began only at the beginning of Lent, he was teaching the servants when Easter drew near, and served the priest at Mass. I was told that a child was lying in the street, and drawing ^{out} of breath. Brought at once to the house, it was quickly baptised and ^{gave} up its soul to its Creator.

7. "As I said, Fr. Dominic Sosa remained a fortnight at Dianga, during which time there were so many confessions that he had barely time to take his food. He did many things there for the glory of God: some renounced their hatreds; others were ^{on} occasions of sin in which they were entangled; others were ^{also} ^{very} ^{much} ^{repentant}. This done, he came back to me at Siripur. [Fol. 61] Meanwhile I learned by letters and messengers from Chandecan that the Petty King (27) was beginning to despair about our return. I was therefore obliged to send there Fr. Dominic Sosa. His arrival gave great joy to the Portuguese; they thought they would not see the Father again. At once, he started preaching to them and inviting them to prepare themselves for confessing their sins. They did so carefully and during the two weeks of Lent still remaining he heard the confessions of all. He performed solemnly the services of Holy Week, all bursting into tears, so much so that the Church echoed frequently with their sighs and their wails. But the festivities of the Resurrection at Easter [1599] amply compensated their grief. The Patanes living at Chandecan had killed the Portuguese Chief (28), on whom the petty King had conferred, as an honour, the title of Prefect. Presently, the King ordered all his property to be given away [to the Father]: the Father, however, refused to accept it. Fearing that the Father was angry because of the murder, he called him, addressed him most kindly, and then offered to the Church the goods of the deceased, which were considerable. The Father declared candidly that our law does not allow us to take another man's goods. The King, after highly praising his resolution, asked the Father what he wished him to do with the property, as he would do nothing without his approval. He has conceived this high opinion of us, because he knows that we always tell him the truth, that we ask him nothing and do nobody harm or hurt; what pleases him most is that he hears everybody praise the honesty and uprightness of our Society. He gave the Father another ground and site, suitable for building a Church and a house, and better than the former, the possession of which, as it belonged to the Patanes, was less secure. He also gave welcome assistance in erecting the buildings by supplying the artisans and workmen. He generally leaves it to the Father to settle all the affairs of the Portuguese. When he speaks with them, it is privately,

(26) "Christian doctrine"—A beginning of a Bengali translation of the catechism in Portuguese had been undertaken by Fr. de Sousa at Hugli in 1598.

(27) *Pratapaditya*.—The Fathers had spent a month with the Portuguese at Chandecan in 1598 and had proceeded thence to Siripur, where they arrived in December 1599.

(28) His title must have been Capitao, or captain. The phrase Capitao Mor (chief captain) has at times been anglicised into "Captain Moor", as though it were the name of an individual.

a departure from the usual custom, for he speaks with the rest in the open air, publicly, now answering these, then those.

8. "In the month of May [1599] Fr. Dominic Sosa left for Golin (28A). On the way, he suffered much from robbers who shot with arrows at the ship; however, thanks to God's help, he escaped safely from every danger. As he had gone away without bidding the King good-bye, the latter began again to entertain fears about his return. When he saw him back once more, he was glad and kept on cultivating his friendship. The Father, after asking his leave, reports to him the complaints of the Portuguese against the Patanes, for the Patanes settled at Chandecan were bitter against the Portuguese and treated them badly. The Father informed him about this and other matters of great importance. To this the King answered that he sought the Fathers' friendship and presence for the purpose of using their advice in correcting abuses, as indeed he does.

9. "In the month of April [1599] I went to Catabro (29) which is subject to the Mansondolin King. There I started examining whether there was any chance of propagating the Christian religion, but I found that the people are nearly all Mahometans. There are, besides, in those parts certain foreigners, whom their trade carries frequently to Agra and Lahore, towns of Achebar's. They are keen-witted and like to make a show of their learning. I had a conversation with them, before a large gathering, about the Christian laws and practices. One of them boasted that the law of the Gentiles is older than ours. He thought that this argument alone would overcome me. I answered that he was quite wrong, that ours was older, since Adam and Eve, the progenitors of the human race, had observed the very same law as we, and that their children after them had for many centuries lived most holily under the same observance. On that occasion, I demonstrated clearly the beginning and origin of Idolatry, as we have it in the Book of Wisdom. [Fol. 62 recto]. Surprised at my answer, they did not know what to say, and after that they found it was hopeless to discuss with me. It is wonderful how the people of this world are unreasonable. When defeated, and although acknowledging that our law is good and the true one, they continue in theirs, quite staunch and satisfied.

10. "In the month of October [1599], Fr. Dominic Sosa wrote to tell me that I had by all means to go to Chandecan in order to settle satisfactorily our affairs with the King. An occasion had offered itself which was to be profited by, if everything was not to be disturbed again. Though I had started for the Residence of Ours at Dianga (in order to welcome the Fathers coming from India), yet judging that there would be time for both purposes, I set out thither. I do not know how to tell your Reverence how

(28A) Golin: Ugolin, Hugli.

(29) Catabro—Dr. Wise writes in J. A. S. B., 1875, Vol. XLIV, p. 182: "Catabro is Katrabo, now a *tappa* on the Lakhya river, opposite Khizarpur, which for long was the property of Isa Khan, Musnad-i-Ali". See my notes in J. A. S. B. Vol. IX (1913), pp. 440-444.

happy both of us were at meeting again after six months. The King heard at once about my arrival, and immediately, by way of compliment, he sent the Chief Brachman to tell me that my arrival gave him the greatest pleasure and that he wished very much to see me. The next day I went with the Father to pay him a visit (30). He received me with much kindness and politeness. He conversed with us alone for a long time, and after much kindly talking he started saying finally that our law and his were the same. Father Dominic Sosa, he said, had spoken to him of the Commandments of our law, and they had appeared to him the same as his. To this I replied that it could not be; for heaven and earth were not further apart than his law and ours. He asked the Father to recite the Commandments in the vernacular. As he recited them, at the very first Commandment, I caught my man, and showed him that the first commandment of our law was about worshipping one God, whilst they loved and worshipped many. The King replied that he agreed there is but one true God, the others being the friends and familiars of God, just as those whom we call saints. I represented that we did not offer sacrifice to our saints, and did not adore them, whereas the Gentiles adored all theirs without distinction and offered to them sacrifices, which showed that they acknowledged several Gods, which is most abhorrent to our law. Nonplussed by my objection, the King turned the conversation to something else (31).

I asked him to call the Prince his son. They called him. He came, a boy of about twelve, with a very intelligent look. When I had praised him enough before his Father, I asked the King to order him to sign our 'diploma', so that the homage which we rendered to his father during his lifetime, we might exhibit to the son when he would have succeeded to his father's estates. The King was pleased with this request, and, although the boy was already washed as usual, and on that account forbidden by his religion to do such things, yet at his father's order he was willing and pleased to sign. The Portuguese say that in this way we are more sure to remain in these lands and to continue in possession of the property of our Church. I remained a whole month at Chandecan, and I was treated always most kindly by the King. To Fr. Dominic Sosa too he now shows the same honour. Lately, as I learned from the Father's letters, it happened that, as the Father asked him for an interview, he could not hear him; but the

(30) The Raja's residence must have been at Jessore. It was there that he was living in 1603. Cf. Fr. H. Jossion, S.J., *op. cit.* p. 63.

(31) "The King of Chandecan (which lyeth at the mouth of the Ganges) caused a Jesuite to rehearse the *Decalogue*: who when he reproved the Indians for their polytheism, worshipping so many Pagodes: he said that they observed them but as, among them, their Saints were worshipped: to whom how savoury the Jesuites distinction of *douleia* and *latreia* was for his satisfaction, I leave to the reader's judgment. This King, and the others of Bacala and Arracan, have admitted the Jesuites into their countries and most of these Indian Nations". Cf. Purchas' *Description of India*, ch. 3, quoted in J. Talboys Wheeler's *Early Travels in India*, Calcutta, 1864, p. 15. We leave to the reader's judgment why so many of these Kings admitted the Jesuits at all, and why English Jesuits were hounded out of their own country at this time.

next day he came to the Church to excuse himself on the score of his occupations (32).

11. "On returning from Chandecan I underwent many toils and was exposed to many dangers from robbers, from which, however, I escaped with God's help; and, after I had spent ten days doing hardly anything except sleep, I began to feel unwell (33). On landing at Siripur, I received letters from Fathers Melchior Fonseca and Andrew Boves (34) who had landed at Dianga. When I was about to go to them, I fell into a troublesome and dangerous illness, so that my life was almost despaired of. Hearing this, they hastened to come to me. Their meeting made me recover so thoroughly that I came at once with them [Fol. 62 verso] to this our residence of Dianga. For a month my health was fluctuating, the fever now receding, then returning at longer intervals; now I think I can say I am well, but mine is the health of an old man, which is never very strong. When we came to Dianga, we found Manoel de Matos and the other Portuguese preparing to go to the King of Arracan, who had come back during those days from his expedition against Pegu; for this port of Chatigan (35) which is under his sway, he has given almost entirely to the Portuguese. They asked me to go with them to settle our affairs with the King, but, as I was prevented by ill-health, I earnestly begged Jerome Monteiro, a great nobleman, who is devoted to our Society and is the King's friend, to settle them for us, which he very kindly agreed to do. Besides, I wrote to the King. Thanks to our letter and what he heard about us from Jerome Monteiro and the other Portuguese, the King was highly pleased and he wrote back to us as follows:—

12. "The high and powerful King of Arracan, Tipara (36), Chacoma (37), and Bengala, Lord of the Kingdoms of Pegu, etc., to you,

(32) The apparent ease with which the Fathers go to the palace and the King comes to their Church would show that the Portuguese settlement was not far from to the royal residence.

(33) The journey back to Siripur would have been by boat through the Sundarbans, during which time the Father could take a good long rest. But did he not contract malaria?

(34) These two Fathers formed the second batch of Jesuit missionaries sent to Bengal. They arrived at Dianga on September 17, 1599. How is it that Fr. Fernandes, who says that he left for Chandecan in October, had not before he set out from Siripur received the news of their arrival? He stayed a month at Chandecan, returned to Siripur, and fell ill: and on November 25, 1599, Fr. Boves wrote from Dianga to the General of the Society that he had gone to Siripur and brought Fr. Fernandes to Dianga.

(35) Chittagong: see note (7A). The same form is used by Linschoten (1598): "From the River Eastward 50 miles lyeth the towne of Chatigan, which is the chief towne of Bengala."

(36) Tippera.

(37) Du Jarric (French edition) has "Chacomas". Fr. Hay gives "Cacomas" in his *De Rebus Japonicis* (Antverpiæ, 1605). Cf. Joao de Barros (1552): "Up to the Cape of Negraes [Cape Negrais, at the extreme South end of Arakan] will be 100 leagues, in which space are these populated places, Chocoria, Bacala, Arracao city, capital of the Kingdom, so styled." Chocoria appears to be the modern Chakirra (Atlas, Imperial Gazetteer of India, plate 30), which lies about half way between the ancient capital of Arakan and Chittagong. Lavanha's map (in de Barros, *Decadas*, Vol. IV, Madrid, 1615, reproduced in Dames' *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* Vol. II, p. 135) shows "Chacomas" far in the interior, between the Kingdom of "Brema

Fathers of the Society of Jesus. I derived much joy from your letters, which abounded in words respecting the service of God, and especially from what Manoel de Matos and Jerome Monteiro told me about your virtues. I should be most happy and pleased, if you came to me, so that we might settle properly the affairs of the Portuguese and make arrangements for building a Church and about making Christians, if any want to become Christians of their own accord. We shall contribute money for the purpose and give you our services. Given at Arracan under the Royal Seal.'

13. "At once he selected and ordered a site to be cleared, which is suitable for building a Church and a house and convenient for the Christian inhabitants. Those who are experienced and versed in these matters assert that in virtue of this diploma the King is bound to provide us with everything necessary both in the port of Chatigan and in the town of Arracan. Wherefore I decided with Father Andrew Boves to go there as soon as possible, not with the intention of remaining there, but of examining everything carefully and determining what we should judge to be most pleasing to God.

14. "Shortly after landing at this residence of Dianga, Fr. Melchior Fonseca started for Chandecan, according to Your Reverence's order, and on the way he passed through the Kingdom of Bacala. As the Portuguese living there had for a long time wished for Fathers, and some, both of the Portuguese and of the Neophytes, had not for many years approached the Sacrament of Penance, they advised the Father to pay a visit to the King. He treated the Father with all possible kindness and gave him the following diploma:—

15. "'I, King of Bacala, grant to the Fathers lately arrived in Bengala and to their successors leave to build Churches in my Kingdom, to preach the law of the true God, and to make Christians of all those who willingly and voluntarily wish to be enrolled as such and they will not on that account forfeit their goods; nay, I shall show them every favour, kindness and goodwill, and I shall take care that the chiefs and nobles of my Kingdom equally favour all those who will have embraced the Christian faith. If any one acts otherwise, as soon as he is reported by the Fathers, I shall see to it that he is duly punished.'

16. "I wished to go to Bacala, before the vessels set sail for India in order to inform Your Reverence about these matters; [Fol. 63 recto] but as I was daily expecting answers from Arracan, I could not get away from here. I learned from a letter by Father Melchior Fonseca that the King of Chandecan had loaded him with every kind of attention, and that his

[Burma] Lima [? d' Ava] and Tipara", on one side, and the estates of Codavascom [? Khuda Baksh Khan] on the other. Further information on Chacomas will probably be found in Blochmann's *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1873: first published in J. A. S. B. about the same time). For the first time I remark that Lavanha's map shows a cross on one of the turrets of the buildings at Chatigam [Chittagong], Govro [Gaur] and Codavascom. This seems to show that there were some Christians there at the time when the map was drawn. Dianga is not marked, but the site appears to be indicated by "Irabu". On Codavascom, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.

arrival has given much pleasure to the inhabitants. The affairs of that residence are in a good way. The house is finished up to the roof, and they are completing the Church so as to be able to say in it the first solemn Mass on the feast of the Circumcision. As Your Reverence ordered, we shall dedicate it to the Most Holy Name of Jesus, the first in Bengala (38). There remains to ask Your Reverence to send soon helpers and assist us with your prayers and sacrifices and those of the whole province, so that what we have undertaken for God's service may prosper and happily redound to his glory." Thus far Fr. Francis Fernandez (39).

17. In another letter by Fr. Melchior Fonseca, dated Chandecan, the 13th before the Kalends of February of the year 1600 [January 20, 1600] we read:—

"Before leaving Chatigan, I wrote to your Reverence about our voyage, and I informed you about everything I remembered to have happened until my departure. Now I shall relate what happened afterwards up to my arrival at Chandecan, where Fr. Dominic Sosa and I are for the present, much consoled with this mission in Bengala, and hoping that God is pleased with our labours, since we have experienced already some beginnings and tokens of his pleasure, which I doubt not will be very good news to Your Reverence and to this entire province.

18. "I left Chatigan in November, and I went out of my way on a visit to Bacala, at the request of the Portuguese, who had been without the sacraments for more than two years. Father Francis Fernandez was about to send me to Arracan in his stead, but the bad state of my health prevented me from going. I judged that God arranged it so, in order that I might be the occasion of starting a residence in the kingdom of Bacala. When I arrived there, I was at once called by the King, a boy of eight, but intelligent beyond his years. I went with all the Portuguese, who most willingly under-

(38) See: "under that title". This must be the meaning of the writer, since there was a church at Hugli, if not two; and we have heard above of a church at Dianga earlier than that of Chandecan. On the supposed position of the Chandecan church at Ishwaripur, see P. L. Faulkner's article "When Pratapaditya Reigned" in *Calcutta Review* (April 1920, pp. 175-188) and his other article "In old Jashore" (*Empress*, April 1920, p. 26). Close to where the church is said to have been, there are some masonry tombs.

(39) Remark again the rapidity of the events between October and December 22, 1599. A letter from Chandecan received by him (in the beginning of October ?) makes Fr. Fernandes go to Chandecan; he stays there a month; the journey back to Sripur takes 10 days; he falls ill; two Fathers, newly arrived at Dianga on September 17, hearing about his state, come over to Sripur. They take him back to Dianga where they arrive long before the end of November, since Fr. Fonseca who went to Chandecan shortly after landing at Dianga on his return from Sripur, states that, leaving Dianga in November he arrived at Chandecan *via* Bacala on November 20. At Dianga the three Fathers found the Portuguese ready to go to the capital of Arakan in order to congratulate the King who had just returned victorious from Pegu. They carried Father Fernandez' letter to the King, and yet an answer from the King was received at Dianga by December 22, 1599. Fr. Fonseca, on his way to Chandecan, had made a detour to Bacala, where he obtained from the Raja a favourable document, a copy of which had come into Fr. Fernandez' hands at the time he wrote (December 22, 1599).

took the journey with me. Before I reached the palace, the King courteously sent twice messengers to say that he was awaiting us with his nobles and Captains of Fortresses in some big building. When I came into his presence, all arose. The chief place near the King had been spread with a large carpet for receiving the poor little Father and the other Portuguese. After the mutual salutations and the compliments usual when meeting, he asked me whither I was going. I said I was going to the King of Chandecan, who they say is to be the father-in-law of him of Bacala. But, since with God's help I had been brought to his own kingdom, I wished (with his kind permission) to offer him my respects in passing [and ask him] to invite the Fathers to come, and with his leave to build Churches throughout his Kingdom and impart to the inhabitants the knowledge of the one true God. He acceded willingly to my request; nay, he seemed to be eager for it himself, on account (I suppose) of what he hears daily about us. When the King had given us leave to go, I turned my attention to the Portuguese, heard their confessions, administered to them the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, and baptised several. After that, I continued my journey, although the Portuguese were against my going; they wished me to be theirs for good, and I tried to pacify them as best I could, by telling them that Fr. Francis Fernandez would come to them about Lent [1600] and that, at the end of a year, Your Reverence would send them some Father to take care of their souls. [Fol. 63 verso].

19. "The way from Bacala to Chandecan is wonderfully pleasant. All along flow deep rivers of sweet clear water; on the one side are dense shady woods, and herds of stags and cattle roaming about the plains; on the other side fields covered with rice and displaying far and wide their joyful burdens. We were travelling by the gangas or rivers; in many places and for very long distances they were so densely bordered with trees on either bank that the sun's rays could not pierce through. From the branches hung swarms of bees and honeycombs, while monkeys were playfully jumping from branch to branch. Here and there plantations of the much-prized sugarcane were to be seen. But there were Tigers too, and Crocodiles which at times fed on human flesh (40). Rhinoceroses were roaming about the forests, but we did not see any.

20. "I reached Chandecan on the 12th day before the Kalends of December [November 20, 1599]. The welcome from Fr. Dominic Sosa and all the Portuguese was most joyful. What added to their joy was that my arrival was unexpected, as they had heard I had gone to Arracan. The next day I went on a visit to the King, and offered him (what gave him no small pleasure) some fine Biringian oranges which I had brought on purpose. He received me very kindly; my present gave him joy, as there are no

(40) Fr. Hay's text has *Neque desunt tigres et crocodili, qui carne humana subinde vel incuria vel culpa nostra vescuntur*. Hence read *feed* for *fed*.

fruits of that kind in his country (41). He asked me my name, and repeated the question two or three times. I thanked him for this mark of affection towards us, since he was so anxious not to forget my name. He treats us most politely; as soon as we come into his presence, he rises and salutes us with great respect; he does the same when we go away. We attribute this respect to this reason only that he hears we observe perfect chastity, which they have the greatest reverence for and extol to the skies. We asked him for a large piece of ground near our house, so that the Neophytes might live conveniently near the Church. He granted it easily, and the diploma [of concession] was drawn up; he also ordered that the Pagans living there should pay [to the Fathers] the tribute which they owed to the King. As I had learned from Fr. Francis Fernandez that Your Reverence wished that the first Church to be built in Bengala should be dedicated to the Most Holy Name of Jesus, we tried hard to get it finished that day (42).

21. "Although the Church is such only as we could make it in a hurry, according to circumstances and our poverty, it is however sufficiently spacious, and not less pretty. We adorned it all over with different precious curtains (43) for which the Portuguese gave us much help. In fact, they are very fond of us and confess that our arrival is to them a very great blessing. We promulgated the Jubilee, according to our privilege for India (44). All who could approached the Sacraments of Penance and of the Holy Eucharist. We had to try our very best to make the feast as solemn as possible, both because this feast was for the first time celebrated in Bengala, and to make the Pagans who witnessed it ashamed of their misery.

22. "On the eve, and on the morning of the feast (44A), there were illuminations everywhere (45) and a general firing of guns, as we had had on the eve of St. Thomas' feast (46), when we planted the first Cross in the

(41) "Le lendemain j'allay saluer le Roy, et luy apportay vn present d'orenges de la race de Beringan, fort belles." (du Jarric). The derivation of the word *Beringian* remains to be determined. *Hobson-Jobson* and Mgr Dalgado's Glossaries afford no help. De Barros mentions, between Porca [Porakad] and Travancore, "Cale Coulae, Rotor, and Berinjan", Dames (Book of Duarte Barbosa, Vol. II, p. 102, note 1) identifies Berinjan with Vizhingani on the south coast of Travancore. Is Berinjan noted for oranges? A friend, born in India, knows the expression "Beringian oranges", but does not know where these oranges come from.

(42) The first of January is the Feast of Circumcision and of the Most Holy Name of Jesus.

(43) Lower down *peristroma* means "carpets": perhaps also here.

(44) A plenary indulgence could be gained according to this privilege. The year 1600 must have been a jubilee year.

(44A) December 31, 1599, and January 1, 1600.

(45) There must have been fireworks too, as no feast was complete without them.

(46) Most likely the feast of St. Thomas, the Apostle of India, on December 21; not the feast of St. Thomas, Bishop and Martyr, on December 29.

peated incursions into Martavan, so that a great part of the inhabitants were killed, the rest were driven into the woods and mountains, and the country itself is left uncultivated and desolate. He to whom the kingdom belongs by right remains on the sea-coast with a few troops and his nephew; he is satisfied with one or two towns and cannot protect himself against the attacks of the King of Sion.

25. Martavan has three crops of rice a year. Formerly fifteen ships laden with rice would go every year to Cochin and as many to Malaca. I do not speak of the Girgili (58) and oil of which very great quantities were carried to other places. The country abounds in fruit-trees. It has the fruits so well-known to Indians, which we call Mangas, Jacchas, Jambos and Marriones (59) and many others which can vie for quality with those of the same kind among other nations. There are chestnut trees similar to ours, also oranges and many other fruits which we have in common with them. Many herbs are fragrant and medicinal. The roses are various and of many forms (60). There are also 'arvorea tristes', as the Portuguese call them, because they flower at night; in reality they are most beautiful and fragrant; they drop their flowers which are not smaller than roses (61).

26. The country abounds in timber. The Techa (62) which gives one of the most valuable woods of India, and the pine, are found in endless quantities. Nowhere too can better ropes be found for every kind of ship-tackle. Every year as many as twenty ships of burden and very many biremes and triremes can easily be constructed. The trunks of the techas are often twenty braces long. There is plenty of pitch and bitumen for tarring the ships.

27. You will find mountains consisting of iron rather than of stone, whence iron is procured for all the kingdoms of Pegu. The Portuguese brought here (63) a stone, which twelve men could hardly carry; in my presence, particles were knocked from it with a hammer, from which, without any

(58) Not in Hay: du Jarric has: *huile de sisame ou iugeoline*. It is the *sesamum indicum* or *orientale*. "Girgili" is a spelling not given in *Hobson-Jobson* or Mgr. Dalgado's *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*.

(59) "Sylva præterea malis medicis, Massilicis, ficibus, pyris, et alijs variarum arborum fructibus plurimis et sapidissimis abundans" (Hay). "Il s'y trouve une infinité d'arbres fruitiers, come limoniers, orangiers, figuiers, poiriers, chataigniers et autres de diuerse espee de ceux que nous auons icy" (du Jarric). What are 'marriones'? Mangas are mangoes; jacchas, jack-fruits. Jambos are jamoons or rose-apples in Garcia de Orta (1563); but the term *jambu* is applied in certain parts of India to the guava which came from America: cf. *Hobson-Jobson* s. v. guava, jamboo, jamoon.

(60) "On y trouue des roses de diuerses facons et dissemblables aux nostres" (du Jarric).

(61) See *arbol triste* in *Hobson-Jobson*: probably the *nyctanthes arbor tristis* or Arabian jasmine. See also *Arvore triste* in Mgr. Dalgado. "A tree called *Arbor Tristis*, which withers in the Day and blossoms in the Night"—Fryer, *A New Account of East India* (1909-1915 edn., Vol. I, p. 116).

(62) Teak: Malayalam *tekkā*, Tamil *tekkū*. The name was no doubt adopted because Europeans first became acquainted with the word in Malabar.

(63) To Dianga, since it is Fr. Fernandez who says that he saw it.

previous smelting, nails could at once be made. They burn so much lime that they supply all the kingdoms of Pegu with it. What shall I say about their vessels and jars, called by ours Martabans (64) and boyones (65) which surpass all other pottery vessels? What shall I say about the springs, streams and rivers irrigating that very vast country? Fishes of every kind are found in countless numbers. Herds of stags, wild boars and wild buffaloes are met with everywhere. And, though nowadays they buy cloth from other nations, formerly it was the contrary; others bought it from them. Owing to war and famine, the Indian palms (66), formerly innumerable, are now reduced to a few; the wild ones have escaped, of which there are still very many. There were also very many sugarcane plantations, from which white and brown sugar found its way all over India. Wheat sown at any season of the year ripens. The land is very productive of vegetables and leguminous plants. It has great mines of lead, tin, gold and silver (67). It abounds in the precious stones which we call Rubinos (68) and yields also plenty of excellent copper. A mass of copper worth three hundred ascs (69) fetches now even when brought to the coast twenty-five xerafins (70).

This kingdom is the port and entrance of the kingdom of Jangoma, whence white Benjuin (71), Lacre (72), copper, Cardamoms, long Pepper and Musk reach us. The harbour is deep, with an excellent entrance, and always navigable. The Martabanians trade [Fol. 65 recto] with the

(64) du Jarric has: "Icy se faisoient les vases ou grands pots de terre, communément appelez de Martauan, fort estimez par toute l'Inde à cause qu'ils sont très excellens pour y tenir et conseruer l'eau le vin, l'huyle, et autres telles liqueurs. Il en y auoit de si grands qu'ils contenoient deux coques qui font un demy muy. Tous ces quartiers d'Orient usioient pour la plupart de ces vases et mesmes s'en enuoyoit en Portugal." Cf. Hallifax, monograph on Punjab Pottery (p. 9, quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*): "Martaban was the name given to vessels of a peculiar pottery, of very large size and glazed, which were also known as Pegu jars. In Upper-India the term *martaban* is still used to denote a small deep jar with an elongated body, which is used by Hindus and Muhammadans to keep pickles". Cf. also Barbosa (1516): "In the town of Martaban are made very large and beautiful porcelain vases, and some of glazed earthenware, of a black colour, which are highly valued among the Moors, and they export them as merchandise."

(65) Mgr. Dalgado (*Gloss. Luso-Asiático*) explains this as a cylindrical vessel of glazed pottery connected with 'bojo' (Port.) or the Malay word *buyong*, a jar.

(66) Probably the coconut palm, the nuts of which were in very olden times called Indian nuts: Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*.

(67) du Jarric has: "On y trouue des mines fort riches, non seulement de plomb, d'acier, et de cuyure [cuivre]; mais encore d'argent, d'or, et de rubis à foison."

(68) Rubies.

(69) A very small Roman coin.

(70) A silver coin formerly current at Goa and other eastern ports, of the value of somewhat less than one shilling and six pence. In Portuguese currency it varied from 300 to 360 réis. The word is derived by Yule and Burnell (*Hobson-Jobson*) from the Arabic *ashrafi* or "noble".

(71) Benjuin—see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Benjamin; a kind of incense, *Styrax benzoin* (Dryander), from the Arabic *luban-jawi*, 'Java frankincense'.

(72) Lac. Cf. Duarte Barbosa (1516): "Here [in Pegu] they load much fine laquar, which grows in the country". Lac "is a strange drugge made by certain winged Pismires of the gumme of Trees" (Purchas, p. 569: 1627).

people of Cocin, Negapatam, [San] Thomé, Masulapatam, Bengala, Tanassarín, Iusulan, (73) Achen and Malaca.

28. The city which they are giving to the Portuguese is surrounded by a wall and a moat on the side of the mainland (74). It has many buildings suited to our purpose and manner of living. When the Portuguese living there saw its similarity with our towns, they did not hesitate to appoint as is our custom, buildings for public purposes in suitable places; for the confraternity of Mercy (75), the Bishop's See (76) and the monasteries of Religious they selected their sites and buildings. The house of Mercy is already finished and completed (77). Near the gate, there is a well, and in the centre of the grounds a shady tree, under which the goods of the deceased are put up for sale (78). A former temple of the Talapo (79) is has now been changed into a Church for the episcopal see (80). To our Society also a very large ground has been assigned, which was formerly the great Varella (81) and is now called the St. Paul's Church (82). It is situated on an eminence, whence the eyes dwell on a most beautiful prospect in every direction on the whole country beneath. From the bottom

(73) *Iusulan*—Junk Ceylon, an island off the west coast of the Malay Peninsula; cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., Junk Ceylon.

(74) du Jarric has: "A ceste cause (to be able to defend themselves against Siam) le Roy, et le Prince son nepueu offrirent aux Portugais vne cite pour y venir demeurer, laquelle estoit ceinte de murailles basties de pierre et de chaux, avec vn fossé profond du costé de la terre, estant enuironnée d'eau des autres deux costés. Il y auoit force bastimens, qui pouuoient estre aisément accommodez à la facon des nostres. En chascue maison il y auoit vn puy et vn jardin avec force arbres. Les Portugais furent là pour voir la commodité du lieu, et auoient desjà fait le departiment d'une grande partie de la ville pour les bastiments publics: comme pour la grande Eglise, et les maisons Religieuses. L'hospital estoit desjà tout basty, et fort commodément. La grande Eglise encore, car c'estoit le Xaropo ou temple des Talapoysens, qui sont comme leurs Prestres. Ils auoient aussi choisy vne place, qu'on appelloit jadis la grande chapelle pour les Pères de la Compagnie, et hors de la cité vne autre pour les Pères Capucins, fort propre pour leur solitude."

(75) du Jarric refers to it as "l'hospital".

(76) The chief Church, even in places where there was no Bishop, was usually designated by the Portuguese as the *Se* (See), now often miscalled 'Cathedral'.

(77) The meaning must be, from du Jarric, that a building was found adapted to the purposes of the Confraternity of Mercy.

(78) One of the good works of the Confraternity *da Misericordia* consisted in disposing in the best way possible of the property of Portuguese and other Europeans dying in India, and sending the value to their heirs. It was a religious institution, and had a chapel for its members in the chief Portuguese settlements.

(79) The name given by the Portuguese to the Buddhist priests of Burma, probably from their using fans made of the talipot palm: cf. *Hobson-Jobson*. du Jarric calls this temple "le Xaropo ou temple des Talapoysens."

(80) In the Church to be served by the secular clergy (?) under the Bishop of Cochín.

(81) *Varella* is the word always used for a Buddhist temple in Burma or Arakan. The word is not in Hay, or du Jarric.

(82) The Jesuit Fathers in India were generally called Fathers of St. Paul or Paulites, from their College of Sao Paulo da Santa Fè at Goa. Is it necessary to add that in the city of Martaban where the Portuguese hoped to settle there were no Jesuits yet? The name of the city is not given. Was it Martaban, Maulmain, or some other place?

to the top of the hill, there is a broad paved way; from there a flight of about thirty stone steps leads to the top. On the top where the ground is level, is the site of the College of St. Paul; it is surrounded by a conspicuous embattled wall, and contains gardens and many buildings. Opposite the harbour, there is a mountain looking very much like the Promontory of the Blessed Virgin in the harbour of Goa. Outside the town, a site was assigned to the Capuchin Friars (83), which is adapted to their life of solitude; it is in a valley planted with fruit trees and Indian fig trees (84); near it is a tank paved at the bottom. The whole city, therefore, and the adjacent country looks like a picture. The houses have wells of very wholesome water and gardens planted with trees. And the Portuguese are so fully persuaded that these places will some day belong to Christians, that they frequently speak thus: "Let us go to the College of St. Paul; let us pay a visit to the Church of Mercy; let us go to the Promontory of the Blessed Virgin" (85). So, whenever their trade brings them there, they feel as if they were going to stay at Goa, in Churches and houses of Christians.

29. The climate of the country is so mild that sickness is unknown and doctors altogether non-existent. The people are polite and affable, and care little for heathen rites and ceremonies. They eat with us, and do not show themselves particular, or averse to the true faith. The Talapois themselves, their Priests, come to the Churches and venerate the images of Saints, chiefly the crucifix; and they are not unwilling to learn the Christian doctrine (86). They confess candidly that their reason for observing the laws and customs of their country is that they have no one to teach them a better religion. The Prince, the heir to the kingdom, on entering the Church, knelt down and kissed the altar, and turning to the image of Christ crucified, which was on the altar, he said that that was his Lord, and that he wished very much to have a priest near him from whom he might receive baptism; and he promised to become a Christian soon. Meanwhile, as a token and earnest of his promise, he gave to Antonio Correa de Lemos a ring containing a precious ruby. His foster-brother, who is a great man, could with difficulty be made to leave the Church. "Would," he sighed, "there were a priest here to cut this hair of mine and baptise me with my whole family" (87). He comes to the Church regularly and every day he converses with

(83) I have somewhere a letter of a Dominican who visited Pegu at least ten years earlier. Later, the Dominicans claimed and, it now appears, not without some right, priority of occupation in Pegu, against the Jesuit Fathers.

(84) Plaintain trees (*Hobson-Jobson*: see also Mgr. Dalgado). Medieval travellers generally call the fruit "Fig of Paradise", or sometimes "Fig of India". The Portuguese habitually called it "Indian Fig."

(85) In Hay, the natives are made to speak thus.

(86) The Catechism. Was it the Portuguese text? This cannot be entertained: and there could have been no vernacular translation yet, since there were no priests permanently fixed in the country. Probably oral explanations of the Catechism are meant.

(87) du Jarric: "Le mesme dit vn sien frère de laict, qui estoit fort grand seigneur, lequel ne vouloit point partir de l'Eglise, sans estre baptisé; mais entendant que cela ne se pouuoit fair sans que quelque Père l'eut instruit au prealable, et par apres le baptisast, il se mit avec vn grand souspir à dire, ô ! que n'ai-je maintenant un Père qui me coupe ces cheveux et me baptise avec tous mes subjects".

the Portuguese about the chief points of the Christian faith (88). [Fol. 65 verso].

30. But let us return to the Prince. He is called Banhablai (89), which means the small Lord. He is a young man of noble appearance and always cheerful. Under him he has thirty thousand men who will become Christians without difficulty. About two hundred thousand people live in the mountains and forests; but, if they hear there are Portuguese in the city to defend them, they will at once hasten to place themselves under the Prince's rule. His uncle Banhalai (90) or the great Lord, is a decrepit old man who may die at any moment. After his death the Prince will succeed to the Kingdom and to the old man's treasures, which they say are very great, although he asserts openly that he cares for no other treasures, for no other riches but baptism and his soul's salvation. So much so that he was nearly on the point of embarking with the Portuguese and going to Goa (91). Let those who will read this consider whether this mission should be made light of; let them consider that, if merchants seek riches, gold and pearls and precious stones, and for that alone dig to the bowels of the earth and travel round the globe, all these things are to be found abundantly in this kingdom, and that, if religious yearn with all their heart for their neighbour's salvation, here the harvest is white, the crop ripe. Let them come, let them hasten, let them come flying, to reap fruit unto eternal life. Thus far Fr. Francis Fernandez.

31. Fr. John Andrew Boves sailed from Bengala to the said kingdoms of Pegu. Your Paternity will have the reason of his going thither from his own letter dated the 5th before the Kalends of April of the year 1600 (92).

"After writing in triplicate to your Reverence (93) from Bengala, I have just now found an opportunity of writing to you from Pegu. I am confident that what I have to say will give Your Reverence great pleasure, unless the said ruin of this very powerful kingdom fills you with grief; and, though there are many things about which I doubt not Your Reverence

(88) du Jarric says of him: "Il parloit bien la langue Portugaise." And Hay: "Callet optime idioma Lusitanicum." So too the Mainz edition.

(89) *Banhablai*, "small lord"; and, lower down, *Banhalai*, "great lord". From the Burmese *ba-yin*. Cf. Mgr. Dalgado, *Gloss. Luso-Asiatico*, Vol. I, p. 81, Vol. II, 463: s.v. *bainha* or *banha*, where we find the forms *bainha* and *Chaubainha* (1545) *baigna* (1582) *banha* (1603) *banha dala* "que era maior senhor de Pegu" (1617).

(90) I adopt the form in du Jarric.

(91) Probably the Portuguese who embarked for Goa touched at Dianga on their way back and acquainted Fr. Fernandez with these details.

(92) March 28, 1600. At the end of the letter the date is: 13th before the Kalends of April, or March 20, 1600. The date in the Mainz edition and in Hay is March 28. The difference must be due to the similarity between 28 and 20. Fr. Boves would, in writing to Fr. Pimenta in Portuguese, have used the Portuguese style of dating. The Latin translator, converting this into the Roman style, read March 28 when he began the letter and March 20, when he wrote the end.

(93) Fr. Nicholas Pimenta was the Visitor of Goa.

would like to be informed, I shall only, for want of time, touch on the chief points, hoping to write more lengthily next year, God willing.

32. "Your Reverence has learned sufficiently from the letters of the previous years that the King of Pegu had been besieged by the King of Arracan and also by the King of Tangu, who had married the King of Pegu's sister. Finally last December, pressed by famine and especially by want of troops, the King of Pegu surrendered to the King of Tangu, who, traitor as he was, at once broke his word and killed him (94).

The reason why he gave himself up was that his own son, the heir to the throne, who (as he said) had long advised his father not to surrender, now left his father, and, in an evil hour, betook himself to the Kingdom of Tangu, to the queen, who, we said, was his father's sister. But his aunt had him executed on the plea that one who had proved unfaithful to his father would not be faithful to herself and the King. The spoils and the wealth which the King of Tangu carried away from Pegu can hardly be estimated, hardly be computed in numbers. To speak only of the gold and precious stones which he took away from the town (for he of Pegu had stored all his treasures in the town), the quantity was such that he loaded with it on twelve different trips seven hundred beasts of burden, partly elephants, partly horses. Even then he did not leave the treasure empty; for he left the silver and other metals behind, as of no value. The news of this was brought quickly to the King of Arracan who happened then to be away (95). Hearing that the King of Tangu had evaded the terms of the treaty, he hastened at once to the fortress of Macao (96), whither the

(94) The King of Arakan had come back victorious to his capital at Arakan by about November 10, 1599, or some time before December, since by December 22, 1599, a letter of his from Arakan had been received by Fr. Fernandez at Dianga. The Mainz edition and Fr. Hay say that the King of Tangu slew both the King and Queen of Pegu. Fr. Guerreiro (Relation 1600-1601) says the same. Manrique mentions the queen as alive in 1630 at the Court of Arakan. Cf. du Jarric: "Après que le dernier Roy de Pegu, nommé Brama, eust esté long temps assiégé en vne forte place de son Royaume, appelée Machao, par les Rois d' Aracan, et de Tangu (le dernier desquels auoit vne soeur de celui de Pegu à femme) et se voyant fort pressé non tant de la famine combien qu'elle fut très-grande en sa forteresse, que pour faute de gens qui la defendissent, il se rendist à eux le mois de Decembre de l'an 1599, cedant au Roy d'Aracan le Royaume de Pegu, et l'Elephant blanc, qui estoit à son auis, et à celuy des autres Princes d' Orient, la plus riche piece qu' il eust, et luy baillant vne de ses filles en mariage, avec deux de ses enfans pour ostages. Mais il fia sa propre personne, celle de sa femme, et d' autres treize enfans qu' il auoit, à celuy de Tangu, son beaufrère; estimant, que ce sacré lien et la foy qu' il luy auoit, juree, l'obligerait à luy estre humain et debonaire. Neantmoins comme ces gens là sont barbares et desloyaux, celà n'eust pas grand pouuoir n' l'endroict du Tanguan; lequel se voyant assiégé par le Roy de Aua, à l'occasion du Roy de Pegu, qu' il pretendoit retirer de ses mains, il prit cela pour pretexte de sa cruauté and desloyauté: de sorte qu'il fit massacrer de sang froid son beaufrère, le Roy de Pegu, la Roynne femme d'iceley, avec ses treize enfans, qu'il auoit en son pouuoir: et après s'vsuma le plus précieux de ses thrésors (qui estoient tres-grands) comme nous dirons bien tost".

(95) He had gone back to Arakan, as we have seen.

(96) *Macao*. On the Pegu river was the port of the city of that name. A village still exists on the spot. "From Cirion [Syriam] we went to Macao, which is a pretie towne where we left our boats and paoes [small craft], and in the morning taking Delingeges [dandies] which are a kind of Coches made of cords and cloth quilted and carried upon a stang betweene 3 and 4 men: we came to Pegu the same day" (Ralph Fitch, 1587).

King of Pegu had formerly betaken himself and called out all the Portuguese whom he had presented with fields and revenues in Bengala, telling them to be in readiness in case he had to fight him of Tangu. Among them was Philip de Brito, than whom there was not among the Portuguese a wealthier man or one more acceptable to the King. He insisted that one of us should go with them. [Fol. 66 recto]. Fr. Francis Fernandez laid the duty on me. On the 5th before the Kalends of March (97), I embarked with the said Philip de Brito, and (God giving us a good wind) on the fifteenth day we landed at the harbour of Sirian (98) till lately a most famous and frequented harbour. Its distance from the fortress of Macao is eighteen miles. It was not without tears that we saw there the banks and the neighbourhood covered with fruit trees of all sorts, but all the inhabitants dead. Enormous temples with gilded walls and other buildings lay in ruins here and there and the villages and hamlets were burnt down. No sound of human voice was heard; no inhabitants were found; Pegu was turned into a desert, a dismal solitude. The streets of the towns, the cross-roads, especially near the temples, lay strewn with skulls and bones. A great part had died of famine, many had been killed in civil strife, and the greatest part had been slain by the King himself, who with unheard of barbarity, executed many setting fire to villages and towns burning entire populations and throwing into the river such a number of corpses that the current was choked and even the smallest boats could not get through. No crueller tyrant can be found in books of history or the annals of kings. But I require leisure to speak of this terrible tragedy (98): next year, with God's help, I hope to do so, unless Your Reverence lays another burden on my shoulders.

33. "I am waiting in the port of Sirian for an opportunity of paying a visit to the King of Arracan, who (as I said above) is collecting at the fortress of Macao the silver and other metals which the King of Tangu left behind: they are estimated at more than thirty times a hundred thousand gold pieces (100). Meanwhile, the King of Sion and the King of Jangoma, the

(97) March 25, 1600, according to Hay and du Jarric. But "March 25" is clearly wrong, since Fr. Boves, writing at least a fortnight later, dates his letter March 28 or 20: see note (92). The month is also incorrect: for "the 5th before the Kalends of March" is February 25 (1600). The "5th before the Kalends of March" is not affected in leap-years.

(98) *Sirian*—Syriam on the Pegu river near its confluence with the Rangoon river: six miles east of Rangoon. It was the site of an English factory in the seventeenth century. "To Cirion a Port of Pegu come ships from Mecca with woollen cloth, scarlets, velvets, opium and such like" (Ralph Fitch, 1587). Cf. the account of Boves' journey in Purchas (ii. 1748): "I went thither with Philip Brito, and in fiftene days arrived at Sirian the chief Port in Pegu. It is a lamentable spectacle to see the bankes of the Rivers set with infinite fruit-bearing trees, now overwhelmed with ruines of gilded temples and noble edifices: the wayes and fields full of skulls and bones of wretched Peguans, killed or famished, and cast into the River in such numbers that the multitude of carcases prohibeth the way and passage of ships".

(99) There had been cases of cannibalism. Human flesh had been sold openly in the bazars. The history of Burma during the fifteenth century is one of the most awful on record. War was a yearly adventure.

(100) *Aureus* in these texts would mean a gold crown, of the value more or less of a ducat, which averaged about 9s. 4d. Du Jarric adds: "Sans compter l'artillerie, qui s'y trouva fort belle, et en grande quantite, car il y auoit trois mille deux cents pieces de canon."

deceased King's brother, coveting that immense treasure, combine to wage war on the King on Tangu and are already besieging him closely. There is no knowing how these things will turn. The king of Arracan too does not know what to do (101). In the course of this expedition the King of Sion invaded Martavan (102). At first defeated in two battles, he ordered to roast in red-hot kettles two captains who had been rather careless in the execution of their duties. Victorious in a third encounter, he drove into the woods and deserts the Prince and Banhalai, his uncle, who directed the campaign, and in this way the King of Sion has made himself master of the whole of Martavan.

34. "The King of Arracan too rules it over the kingdom of Pegu, but it is a kingdom without inhabitants. To Philip de Brito he gave the port of Sirian, in order that he should build in the port a fortress in his own name and that of the King of Portugal (103). All the Portuguese will be free to come here, which will be greatly advantageous to Portuguese interests. The King also allowed the rebellious Pegusians and all those who are roaming about the woods and mountains to come freely to this fortress of Sirian, which is already being built. No doubt, Philip de Brito, powerful and brave as he is, will bring all this to a successful issue. What he most desires is that men of our Society be the first to set foot here, and he asked me to mention this to Your Reverence in his name. I do so, and willingly; for I hope that, when the people here will be under the power and government of the Portuguese, the soil will yield a copious and excellent harvest of Christians. It was my intention to go back to Bengala in the beginning of May, before the winter [monsoon], but I could not allow myself to miss the opportunity offered to me, and so much desired (I should think) by Your

(101) Du Jarric gives further details taken from later letters: "Le Roy d' Aracan si tost qui il fut aduerty de l' arriuee de Philippe de Brito, et du Père aussi, les manda venir tous deux à la forteresse de Machao, où il estoit, et receut fort amiablement et courtoisement le Père lequel ne fut pas là inutile. Car outre qu' il obtint du Roy les despaches, qu'il desiroit, il entendit de confessions, et repeust de la sacrée communion tous les Portugais et autres Chrestiens, qui estoient en son armée; parce que c'estoit au temps de Caresme. Et la seymaine sainte, le joui du leudy absolu, il dressa vn monument fort deuot, à la facon des Eglises Catholiques d' Europe, pour y mettre reposer le precieux corps de nostre sauveur IESVS CHRIST. Le Roy en estant aduerty vint le voir et le Prince aussi son fils aîné; dont ils furent tous deux fort edifiez."

(102) Du Jarric (French edn: III, 842): "En ces entrefaictes, et tandis que le Roy de Aracan estoit à Machao, recueillant le reste des despoilles du Roy de Pegu, le Roy de Iangoma, frère de ce miserable Prince, s' estant ligué avec le Roy de Sion contre celui de Tangu, leuent tous deux vne puissante armée, avec laquelle ils vont assiéger le Tanguan, pour auoir raison à prendre vengeance, comm' ils disoient, de la perfidie et cruauté, dont il auoit vsé enuers le Roy de Pegu. Mais en fin ils vindrent à s' accorder, et laissèrent en paix le Roy de Tangu, ayant eu, comm' il est croyable, quelque lippée du butin; qui estoit à ce qu' on pense, tout ce qu' ils pretendoient. Au retour de ce siège, le Roy de Sion alla fondre sur le Royaume de Martavan."

(103) "Phillip de Brito issued an order that a custom-house should be planted at Seriao at which duties should be paid by all vessels of this State which went to trade with the Kingdom of Pegu and with the ports of Martavan, Tavay, Tenasserim and Juncalon." (*Decada da Historia da India*, composta por Antonio Bocarro: 1606).

Reverence. Hence, I thought I should wait till an answer from Father Francis Fernandez calls me back. I understand that Philip de Brito will call Religious of other orders, if we decline this Mission. (Fol. 66 verso). Let Your Reverence examine what is to be done, and how important it is for us to commend to the Divine Providence this residence and those of Arracan and Chatigan. I am confident that we shall manage everything properly, which hope is daily increased by Philip de Brito, whose favour and influence with the King are very great. Kindly commend me to Fr. Provincial (104) and to all my very dear Fathers and Brothers. From the harbour of Sirian, the 13th before the Kalends of April " (105).

NOTE ON DIANGA.

It is generally difficult to reconstruct topography from old pictures. But I have little doubt that the Dutch print, which is reproduced opposite page 56, represents Dianga, the Bandel of the Portuguese, at the mouth of the Karnaphuli or Chittagong river. The sea, which appears to form the background, is barely three miles from the Bandel of Dianga which I visited. The southern bank is hilly, and so also, if I recollect rightly, the northern or right bank. Bandel is, however, such a loose term that it is not easy to determine when it refers to a Portuguese settlement, and when not. At present, at Chittagong itself, which is some five or six miles from Dianga, the place round the Catholic Church goes by the name of Bandel. In the Latin inscription "Arakan" may be construed either in apposition to "emporium" (the emporium called Arakan) or as dependent upon it (emporium of the country of Arakan). The Dutch inscription supports the former: otherwise, the wording would be "Van Arrakan." But the meaning of "reede" favours Dianga. A "reede" is a bay of the sea, where ships can "ride" at anchor. That would fit Dianga, whereas the old capital of Arakan lay at some distance from the sea and was approached by river from Akyab. As for Akyab, the name does not appear, I believe, during the 17th and 18th centuries: and it would be surprising to find the term Bandel applied to it. It is, of course, possible that the place intended is Chittagong itself, but I am inclined to identify it with Dianga.—H. H.

(104) The Provincial of Goa, as opposed to the Visitor, who was Fr. Pimenta.

(105) March 25, 1600: but more probably "5th before the Kalends of April" or March 28, 1600; see notes (92) and (97).

“The Subaltern’s Gold Mohur.”

THOSE members of the Calcutta Historical Society who possess copies of the earlier volumes of *Bengal: Past and Present*, will find by reference to page 181 of the third volume that the following problem was propounded for solution by Mr. Norman McLeod in the year 1909:—

As you probably know, some baboo left a sum of money or property in trust for the payment of a daily fee of Rs. 15 to the officer on guard at Fort William. I have often heard people express a curiosity as to the history of the fund, but there seems to be nothing authentic, and even the Military authorities are in the dark regarding it, possibly from the fact that the property has much appreciated, though they still pay the subaltern only Rs. 15. I think a short note on the subject would interest members, and, perhaps, you could move some one served in Old Calcutta to make an inquiry and clear up the facts.

Mr. McLeod’s request for information remained unsatisfied at the time; but the payment of the “subaltern’s gold mohur” was made regularly until the first of April last, when it was discontinued under the orders of the Government of India in the Army Department (1).

What was the origin of this curious practice? The story current in Fort William is that the fund was established by an Indian merchant whose son fell into the moat and was pulled out by the officer on guard. Others say that an elderly Indian was suddenly taken ill while in the Fort, and that he adopted this agreeable method of showing his gratitude to the officer on guard who took him inside the guard-room and attended to him. If these legends have any foundation in fact, the fund must have been a substantial one, for a daily payment of Rs. 15 calls for a capital investment, at five per cent., of more than a lakh of rupees.

The existence of the custom can be traced back to the month of February, 1777. An allusion to the payment occurs in the volume of Military Consultations for that year (2), in the course of a letter addressed on February 26, 1777, by the Commissary General (Nathaniel Brassey Halhed) to the Board of Inspection. He writes:

1. Before I close my audit of the last year’s accounts, I request your Honourable Board will be pleased to furnish me with Instructions upon the following Articles:—

* * * * *

7. Fifteen Rupees per diem is constantly drawn for the Captain of the Main Guard at the New Fort. As I can find no General

(1) Letter A—29935 (A. G. 10) to the Adjutant General in India, dated Simla, December 20, 1924.

(2) The volume is not available in Calcutta, and the extracts have been courteously supplied by Mr. Mitchell, the Superintendent of Records at the India Office.

Order whatever for this charge I humbly beg it may be authorized or rejected by the Honourable Board. As also four rupees per diem for the Captain Commanding the Invalids, which he draws for that command exclusive of his pay as Captain.

Mr. Isaac Baugh, the Secretary to the Board, replied on March 17 that "these allowances to the Captain of the Main Guard and Captain commanding the Invalids appearing to the Board to be reasonable, the same will be authorised by express order."

This decision is quoted in Captain Henry Grace's Appendix to the Code of Bengal Military Regulations, published in Calcutta in 1791. On page 438 the following will be found:

60 (M.C. 17th March, 1777). That an allowance of 15 rupees per day be granted to the Captain or officer commanding the main guard, in the garrison of Fort William.

No General Orders of so early a date as 1777 are available: but as Captain Grace gives the Military Consultations as the authority, it would seem that no General Order was issued. The allowance was however definitely sanctioned by the then Military Department of the Government of India as lately as 1884 (3); and the money was disbursed by the Military Accounts Department.

The memory of the pious founder has been held in high honour by the subalterns of the various British infantry battalions which have been stationed in the Fort: and in that quarter at least the disappearance of the time-honoured and welcome addition to their pay will be regretted on very different grounds from those which are likely to appeal to the sentimental historian.

H. E. A. C.

[Reprinted (by permission) from the *Statesman* of August 2, 1925.]

Baptisms in Calcutta: 1786 to 1788.

THE list of Baptisms in Calcutta from 1767 to 1788 (of which the fourth and concluding portion is now printed, covering the period from 1786 to 1788) completes the transcript made by the late Mr. Elliot Walter Madge of the Imperial Library, from the Registers of St. John's Church. Previous extracts from the Register have appeared in the following numbers of *Bengal: Past and Present* :—

Baptisms in Calcutta: 1713 to 1758: Vol. XXI, pp. 143 to 159.
1759 to 1766: Vol. V, pp. 325 to 332.
1767 to 1777: Vol. XXV, pp. 139 to 155.
1778 to 1782: Vol. XXVI, pp. 142 to 168.
1783 to 1785: Vol. XXVIII, pp. 193 to 221.

Marriages in Calcutta: 1713 to 1754: Vol. IX, pp. 217 to 243.
1759 to 1778: Vol. IV, pp. 486 to 512.
1780 to 1785: Vol. VII, pp. 164 to 171.
1785 to 1792: Vol. XVI, pp. 41 to 71.
1781 to 1800 (Supplementary Register): Vol. XXI, pp. 76 to 141.

Burials in Calcutta: 1713 to 1755: Vol. X, pp. 257 to 284.
1759 to 1761: Vol. V, pp. 136 to 142.
1762 to 1774: Vol. VI, pp. 92 to 106.

NOTE.—Many of the succeeding entries relate to individuals who figure in the entries from 1767 to 1785, and of whom biographical details have been given in that connexion. For obvious reasons the information has not been repeated.

1786.

- Jan. 6. Thos. Boyle, son of Thos. Bolton, Esq., a Major in the H. C.'s Service, and Sarah, his wife. (1)
„ 9. Mary, daughter of Jos. Bernard Smith, Esq., Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service and Rosina, his wife.
„ 11. Felicieuse Leonora, daughter of Mr. John Henry Guinaud and Perette, his wife. (2)
„ —. Henry Collier and Chas. Cromwell, sons of Mr. Wm. Phillips Williams and Ann, his wife. (3)

-
- Jan. —. Ann, daughter of Mr. Thos. Potenger, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service. (4)
- „ —. Eliza, daughter of Mr. Joshua Williams, Factor in the Co.'s Service. (5)
- Mr. Johnson baptized the last 4 children but could not recollect the days—T. B[LANSHARD].
- Feb. 11. Eleanor, daughter of Capt. Geo. Gowan of the Sepoys, aged about 5 years. (6)
- „ Thomas, son of Capt. Geo. Gowan of the Sepoys, aged about 3 years.
- „ 11. Henry Augustus, son of Lt. Wm. Hastings of the Sepoys, aged 2 years.
- Mar. 12. Thos., son of Geo. Spencer and Rosa Sylva, his wife.
- „ 10. John, son of Ambrose Kippling, Commander of a Vessel. (7)
- Apl. 15. Helen, daughter of Thos. Graham, Esq., and Ann, his wife. Privately baptised.
- „ 23. Jas. Norman, son of Mr. Edwd. Creighton, Shopkeeper, and Ann, his wife. (8)
- „ 27. Maria, daughter of Lt.-Col. Thos. Call, Chief Engineer and Bethia, his wife.
- „ 27. Chas. Thos., son of Capt. Thos. Higgins and Frances, his wife.
- May 17. Frances, daughter of Lieut. Wm. Major, deceased, and (blank), his wife.
- July 3. John, son of Mr. Eldred Addison, Sr. Mercht., in the Service. (9)
- „ 13. Harriet, daughter of Lieut.-Col. Allen Macpherson, and Eliza, his wife. (10)
- „ 22. Thos. Chas., son of Willm. Jackson, Register, Supreme Court of Judicature, and Margt., his wife.
- „ 29. Geo. Augustus Chicheley, son of Mr. Richd. Chicheley Plowden, Factor, H. C.'s Service, and Sophia, his wife. (11)
- Aug. 6. Robt. Henry, son of Mr. Wm. Dick, Asst. Surgn., and Charlotte, his wife. (12)
- „ 8. Sophia, daughter of Capt. Chas. Russell Deare and Catherine, his wife. Born 26th May last.
- „ 15. Edwd. Durham, son of Mr. John Hall, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Joan, his wife. (13)
- „ 25. Henrietta Peregrina, daughter of Mr. Fras. L'Herondell, Atty.-at-Law, and Mary, his wife.

- Sept. 12. Thomas, son of Mr. Wm. Ledlie, Atty.-at-Law, and Ann, his wife. (14)
- „ 28. Willm. Wright, son of Mr. Wm. Luard, and Ann, his wife.
- Oct. 16. Willm. Robt., son of Mr. Ross Jennings, and Sarah, his wife. (15)
- Nov. 17. William, son of Mr. Robt. Arthur Pritchard, and Mary, his wife.
- „ 19. John Hume, son of Mr. Henry Hume, Pilot, and Sarah, his wife.
- „ 30. Alexr. John, son of Mr. Alexr. Colvin and Maria Margt., his wife. (16).
- Dec. 1. Mary Ann, daughter of Mr. Jas. Reeves, Mercht., and Mary, his wife.
- „ 1. Eliza, daughter of Capt. Christopher Green. Aged 7 years. (17)
- „ 3. Frances, daughter of Mr. Willm. Howard, Cryer of the Court, and Elizth., his wife.
- „ 4. Saml., son of Mr. Henry Swinhoe, Atty.-at-Law, and Jane, his wife. (18)
- „ 14. Emma, daughter of Mr. Pellegrine Treves, writer and Hetty, his wife. (19)
- „ 29. Maria, daughter of Mr. Robt. Bathurst, Sr. Mercht., and Maria, his wife. (20)
- „ 29. Robt. Geo., son of Mr. Robt. Saml. Perreau, and Mary, his wife. (21)
- „ 31. Maria Clementina, daughter of Capt. Willm. Kirkpatrick, and Maria, his wife. (21A)
- Copy of the Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials sent home by the *Berrington* Indiaman 25th Jan. 1787 and a Duplicate of the same 5th March, 1787, by the *Oxford*. (22)
T. B[LANSHARD].

1787.

- Jan 1. Willm. John, son of Mr. Willm. Phillips Williams, lately deceased and Anna, his wife.
- „ 3. Catherine, daughter of Mr. Henry Vansittart, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, lately deceased and Catherine Mary, his wife. (23)
- „ 3. Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Benjamin Grindall, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Charlotte, his wife. (24)
- „ 3. Maria Theresa, daughter of Capt. Richd. Humfray of the Engr. Corps, and Margt., his wife. (25)

-
- Jan. 4. Margt., daughter of Major Wm. Cairnes, H. M.'s Service, and Jane, his wife. (25A)
- „ 5. Charlotte Elizth., daughter of the Hon. David Anstruther, and Mary, his wife. (26)
- „ 10. Charlotte Louisa, daughter of Mr. John Bristow, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Amelia, his wife.
- „ 17. Henry and Harriet, children of Mr. Henry Griffiths, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service. (27)
- „ 21. Alice, daughter of Lieut. Willm. Downs.
- „ 21. Frances, daughter of Mr. Wm. Saxon. Aged 19 months.
- „ 21. George, son of Mr. Wm. Saxon. Aged 5 months.
- „ 22. Alexr., son of Mr. John Henry Guinaud, and Perette, his wife.
- „ 27. Harriet, daughter of Capt. Geo. Aubrey, from Madras, and Anne, his wife. (28)
- Feb. 6. Sarah, daughter of Mr. Francis Gladwin, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Sarah, his wife. (29)
- „ 6. John Herbert, son of Mr. John Williams, Asst. Surgn.
- „ 7. Eliza, daughter of Hon. Robt. Lindsay, Sr. Mercht. (30)
- „ 24. Polly, daughter of Mr. Christopher Keating, Sr. Mercht. (31)
- Mar. 6. Fairfax, son of Mr. Fairfax Moresby, Atty.-at-Law, and Mary, his wife. (32)
- „ 7. William, son of Mr. Archd. Montgomerie, Sr. Mercht., and Maria, his wife.
- „ 9. Sarah, daughter of Lieut. Willm. Blundell. Aged about one year.
- „ 9. Mary, daughter of Lieut. Willm. Blundell.
- „ 17. Edmund Buttall, son of Capt. Thos. Higgins, and Frances, his wife.
- „ 28. Cornwallis, son of Mr. Willm. Nathan Wright Hewett, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Martha, his wife. (33)
- „ 18. George, son of Christian Smith.
- „ —. Mary Frances, daughter of Richd. Johnson, Esq. Born 4th Oct., 1785. Inserted by me, J. Owen, Chaplain to the Garrison of Fort Wm. Oct. 20, 1790. (34)
- Apl. 23. Warren Hastings Leslie, son of Capt. Robt. Frith, and Elizth., his wife. (35)
- „ 23. Elizth. Margt., daughter of Mr. Robt. Grant, Factor H. C.'s Service. (36)
- May 3. Ann, daughter of Mr. Geo. Dandridge, Jr. Mercht. (37)

-
- May 5. Johanna Anthonia, daughter of Johannes Cornelis Heyning, and Maria Jacoba Bogaardt., his wife.
- .. 5. Louisa Christina Barentzeta, daughter of Hans Swane Fretz., and Johanna Barbara Keytel, his wife.
- .. 5. Anna Wilhelmina, daughter of Jacob Cuenraad Rayson and Maria Magdalena Van Gennip, his wife.
At Chinsurah. (38)
- .. 10. James, son of Joseph Garnault, Esq., Commander of the *Ganges* Indiaman. (39)
- .. 12. Willm., son of Mr. Hume Jackson, Taylor, and Ann, his wife.
- .. 16. Robt., son of Nathl. Bateman, Esq.
- June 24. Willm., son of Mr. Wm. Armstrong. Aged 6 years. (39A)
- .. 25. Willm. Henry Chicheley, son of Richd. Chicheley Plowden, Esq., and Elizth. Sophia, his wife. (40)
- .. 25. John Hay son of John Burgh, Esq., and Elizth. Mary, his wife. (41)
- .. 25. Eliza Cheap, daughter of Major Saml. Farmer. (41A)
- .. 26. Thos., Uvedale Stephens. son of Thos. Raban, Esq., and Catharine, his wife. (42)
- .. 30. Charlotte, daughter of Lieut. Benjamin Warren, deceased. Aged 2 years.
- July 4. John James, son of James Mary Carlier (servant to John Wilton, Esq.), and Adelaide Vette. Aged abt. one year. (43)
- .. 8. James, son of the late Jas. Johnson, Seaman, deceased. Aged 18 months.
- .. 31. Jas., Henry Dundas son of Capt. Jas. Denty, H. C.'s Mily. Service, and Lydia, his wife. Born at Sea 11th April last.
- Aug. 11. Henry Geo., son of Willm. Jackson, Esq., Register, Supreme Court of Judicature, and Margt., his wife.
- .. 12. Sarah, Arabella and Charles, children of Lieut. Thos. Hawkins, 5th Battn. of Sepoys. Aged respectively 5, 4 and 2 years. (44)
- .. 12. Elizth., daughter of Lieut. John Dawson, 5th Battn. of Sepoys. (45)
- .. 12. Harry, son of Lieut. Edwd. Clayton, 5th Battn. of Sepoys.
- .. 13. Elizth. Catherine, daughter of Lieut. Alexr. Macdonald.

-
- Aug. 18. Sophia Louisa, daughter of Mr. Willm. Dent, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Louisa, his wife. (46)
- „ 26. Richd., Campbell son of Rich. Signey, a Cafree Protestant.
- Sept. 7. Harriot Sophia, daughter of Mr. Henry Ramus, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Johanna, his wife. (47)
- Oct. 6. Anna Maria, daughter of Mr. Thos. Graham, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Ann, his wife.
- „ 7. James, son of James Kilpatrick, Seaman in the Pilot Service, and Ann, his wife. (48)
- „ 14. John Peter, son of Joseph Aberdare, a Cafree Protestant, and Ann, his wife, a Native Protestant.
- Nov. 12. Elizth., Jane daughter of Capt. Hercules Skinner, H. C.'s Service. (49)
- Dec. 5. Caroline Frances, daughter of John Hyde, Esq., one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and Mary, his wife. Born 12th Oct., 1787.
- „ 5. Sophia, daughter of Finlay Macinniss, and Primerose, his wife, Born 5th Nov., 1787. (50)
- „ 9. Eliza, daughter of Geo. Mence, Esq., Major, H. C.'s Service, and Eliza, his wife, lately deceased. Born 16th Sept., 1787. (50A)
- „ 17. Richd., son of Capt. Richd. Humfray, Engineer, and Margaret, his wife.
- „ 22. Willm., son of Mr. Rowland Scott, Inhabt.
- „ 22. John, son of John Madec. Aged about 4 years.
- „ 24. Robt. Lindsay, son of Hon. David Anstruther, Lieut. Hon. Co.'s Service, and Mary, his wife.
- „ 29. Louisa Mary, daughter of Mr. John Addison, Sr. Mercht., Hon. Co.'s Service, and Lucy, his wife. (51)
- „ 30. Mary Ann, daughter of Willm. Lowder, and Alice, his wife.
- „ 30. Charlotte, daughter of Cornelius Cooper, and Albertine, his wife.
- „ 30. Mary, daughter of Issac Gollidge by Anna Baptista de Rozonera. (52)
- „ 31. Wilhelmina and Sophia, daughters of Lt.-Col. Anthony Polier.
A copy of the Register of Baptisms, etc., for 1787 was sent home by the *Thetis* Indiaman, 15th Jan., 1788. (53)
T. B[LANSHARD].

1788.

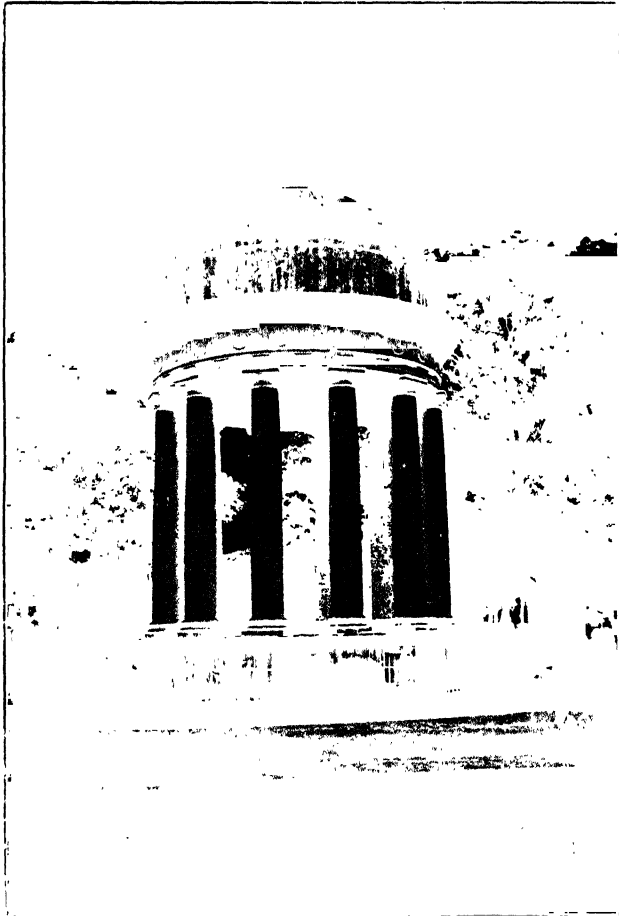
- Jan. 1. Willm., son of Mr. Wm. Ledlie, an Atty.-at-Law, and Ann, his wife. (45)
- „ 10. James Webber, son of Major Wm. Kairnes, H. M.'s Service, and Jane, his wife.
- „ 12. Montague Saml., son of Mr. Robt. Saml. Perreau, and Mary, his wife. Born 25th Nov., 1787. (55)
- „ 16. John, son of Mr. Geo. Gordon, Printer, and Anna his wife. (55A)
- „ 17. John Stratford, son of Mr. John Williams, Surgn., H. C.'s Service, and Martha Louisa, his wife. Born 27th July, 1787.
- „ 18. James, son of Mr. Alexr. Davidson, Mercht. (56)
- „ 20. John Mann, son of John Bawben, and Mary, his wife.
- „ 22. John Edwd., son of John Edmondson, Esq., Lieut.-Col. H. C.'s Service, and Sarah, his wife. (57).
- „ 22. Mary Ann, daughter of Mr. Chas. Rice, and Elizth. his wife. Born 30th Oct., 1787.
- „ 25. Mary, daughter of Lieut. Theobald Purcell, and Rachel, his wife.
- „ 26. Charlotte Thompson. Born 12th Oct., 1784.
- „ 26. Ann Thompson. Born 13th Dec., 1786.
- „ 27. Helena, Born 5th Apl., 1778. } children of Major Isaac
David, Born 7th Aug., 1780. } Burraud of the Artillery.
Susanna, Born 12th Nov., 1783. } (58)
- Feb. 6. Stephen Barrington, A Native aged about 9 years, sent into the Charity School.
- „ 8. Champaign Addison, son of Mr. Edwd. Hardwick, and Mary, his wife.
- „ 10. Barbara, daughter of John Martin, and Martha, his wife. (59)
- „ 13. Charlotte, daughter of Chas. Russell Deare, Esq., Major of Artillery, and Catherine, his wife. Born 27th Dec., 1787. (60)
- „ 18. Arthur, son of John Macdonald, and Barbara, his wife. Born 10th Jan., 1788.
- „ 20. Willm. Fleming, son of Mr. Wm. Dick, Asst. Surgn, H. C.'s Service, and Charlotte, his wife. (61)
- „ 20. Eliza Georgina, daughter of Mark Wood, Esq., Major of Engrs., and Rachel, his wife. Born 15th Nov., 1787. (62)
- „ 20. Margt. Susanna, daughter of Major Patrick Hay, of the Infy., and Sarah, his wife. Aged 7 months.

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- Feb. 23. John, son of John Evelyn, a Member of the Board of Revenue, and Ann, his wife. Sponsors: Wm. Cowper and W. Burke, Esqrs., and Mrs. Elizth. Shee. (63)
- Mar. 9. Ann and Charlotte, daughters of Mr. Wm. Bowling, Factor on the Bombay Establishment. Anne born 6th Aug., 1779. Charlotte born 31st Aug., 1781.
- „ 9. Elizth., daughter of Willm. White, and Christina, his wife.
- „ 10. Ellen Margt., daughter of Lieut. Thos. Whinyates, Hon. Co.'s Service, and Catherine, his wife.
- „ 17. Catherine, son [sic] of Chas. Griese, Serjt., 3rd Battn., Infy.
- „ 17. Susanna, Native servant of Chas. Griese, Serjt. of Arty.
- „ 30. James, son of Peter Hodroyd, a Caffre Christian.
- „ 30. Elizth., daughter of David Phillips, and Mary, his wife.
- „ 30. Jas. White, A Native, aged 15 years.
- Apl. 3. Alexr, son of John Mackenzie, Esq., a Member of the Bd. of Reve., and Elizth., his wife. (64)
- „ 5. Willm. Cooper, son of Christopher Keating, Esq., Sr. Mercht.
- „ 18. Eliza Jane, daughter of Capt. Howe. Aged 4 years.
- „ 20. Robt., son of John Hollow, and Theodosia, his wife. (65)
- „ 22. Charlotte, daughter of Simon Rodrigues, and Elizth., his wife. Born 21st Feb.
- „ 26. Eleanor Wale, daughter of John Byrn, and Margt., his wife. Born 21st March.
- May 4. Bridget Mary, daughter of Mr. Geo. Hudson, and Anastasia Henrietta, his wife. (66)
- „ 5. Richd. Blechynden, son of Mr. Richd. Brittridge, Silver-smith, and Mary, his wife. Born 18th Feb., 1788. (67)
- „ 7. George, son of Thos. Morgan, and Mary, his wife.
- „ 11. George, son of John Shore, Esq. Born 1st July, 1785.
- „ 13. Ann Maria, daughter of Mr. John Brown, Commander of the *Fanny* Snow, and Ann Maria, his wife. Born 12th Feb., 1788.
- May 26. Elizth, daughter of Mr. Willm. Ditchett, Taylor.
- „ 29. Henry Corns. Thos., son of Mr. Thos. Martin, Asst. Surgn.
- June 1. Ann, daughter of Edwd. Candler, Carpenter, and Elizth., his wife.
- „ 9. Charity Eliza, daughter of Willm. Chambers, Esq., Sr. Mercht., Madras Estabt., and Charity, his wife. (68)

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- June 15. Robt. son of Robt. Smith, Inhabt.
 „ 26. Cornwallis, son of Mr. Jas. Campbell, Asst. Surgn., and Jessy, his wife. Born 14th Jan., 1788.
- July 21. Mary, daughter of Lieut. St. Geo. Ashe. Born 11th Dec., 1785. (69)
 „ 21. Harriet, daughter of Lieut. St. Geo. Ashe. Born 8th Nov., 1787. (69A)
 „ 26. George Edwd., son of Mr. Thos. Gowan, Secy. to the General Bank of India, and Elizth., his wife. (70)
- Aug. 3. Edwd., son of John Harcourt, Serjt. of Arty., and Ann, his wife.
 „ 12. Henry, son of Capt. Henry Haldane, A. D. C. to Lord Cornwallis. (71)
 „ 24. Mary Karowpit, a Native Adult.
 „ 25. Lydia, daughter of Mr. Henry Lodge, Sr. Mercht.. (72)
 „ 31. Chas. Willm., son of Mr. Willm. Dent, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Louisa, his wife. (73)
- Sep. 1. Richd. Haswell, son of Lieut. John Toppin of the Arty., and Elizth., his wife. (74)
 „ 7. Sophia, daughter of Lieut. Richd. Forbes. Aged 7 years. (75)
 „ 7. Chas., son of Mr. John Herbert Harrington, Jr. Mercht. (76)
 „ 21. Saml., son of Saml. Allen, Serjt.-Major of the Govr.-Genl.'s Guard, and Phillis., his wife.
 „ 21. Jane, daughter of John Martin, Inhabt., and Elizth., his wife.
 „ 21. Charlotte, daughter of Mr. Richd. Johnson, Sr. Mercht. Born Jan. 8, 1788. Entered by Rev. John Owen, Sept. 1, 1799.
 „ 28. Thos., son of John Bowers, Inhabt., and Elizth., his wife. (77)
 „ 28. Willm., son of Mr. Jas. Gee, Shopkeeper.
- Oct. 3. Jane Hatch, daughter of Mr. Geo. Hatch, Sr. Mercht. (78)
 „ 6. Sarah, daughter of the late (blank) Brown, deceased.
 „ 17. Catherine, daughter of Mr. Thos. Raban, Atty.-at-Law, and Catherine, his wife.
- Nov. 8. Mr. Thos. Kinsey. Aged about 23 years.
 „ 9. Barbara Isabelle, daughter of Capt. Wm. Kirkpatrick, H. C.'s Mily. Service, and Maria, his wife. Aged five months.
 „ 10. Sarah, daughter of Willm. Horrick, Mariner. Aged nine months.
 „ 13. James, son of Mr. John Edwd. Harrington, Sr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Mary Anne, his wife. Born 30th Sept. last. (79)

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- Nov. 16. Anne, daughter of Sir Robt. Chambers, Kt., Actg. Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Judicature, and Frances, his wife. Born 16th Oct. last. Sponsors: The Hon. Mr. Justice Hyde in person, and Thos. King, Esq., Mrs. Collins (wife of Thos. Collins, Esq.), and Mrs. Charlotte Smoult, by their proxies John Wilton, Esq., Mrs. Maria Theresa Watson, and Mrs. Dick. (80)
- „ 18. Jas. Nesbitt, son of Wm. Jackson, Esq., Register, Supreme Court of Judicature, and Margt., his wife. Born 16th Aug. last.
- „ 22. Nathl, son of Lieut. Leonard. Born 23rd Dec., 1784.
- „ 22. Bridget, daughter of Lieut. Nathl. Leonard. Born 1st Nov., 1786.
- „ 22. Elizth, daughter of Lieut. Alexr. Balfour, decd. Aged 5 years.
- „ 27. Alexr. Griffith, son of Lieut. Alexr. Balfour, decd.
- „ 27. John Nesbitt, son of Mr. John White, Jr. Mercht., H. C.'s Service, and Matilda, his wife (Born 18th Aug. last). (81)
- „ 27. Matilda, daughter of Geo. Nesbitt Thompson, Esq. (Born 5th Jan. last). (82)
- „ 30. Alexr., son of Mr. Hume Jackson, Taylor, and Anne, his wife.
- „ 30. George, son of John Moffatt. (83)
- Dec. 12. George, son of Thos. Law, Esq. Aged 4 years.
- „ 12. Edmund, son of Thos. Law, Esq. Aged 3 years.
- „ 14. Phoebe, daughter of Mr. John Hall, Sr. Mercht., and Joan, his wife.
- „ 16. Maria Eliza, daughter of John Bristow, Esq., and Amelia, his wife. (Born 15th May). (84)
- „ 17. William, son of John Jane (?) and Anne, his wife. Born 13th Nov.
- „ 25. Willm. Richd., son of James Ellis, Esq., Physician-General. Born 20th Jan. last.
- „ 26. Lucy, daughter of Mr. Richd. Rocke, Sr. Mercht. Aged 6 years. (85)
- „ 31. Chas. Edwd., son of Capt. Thos. Wm. Clayton, H. C.'s Mily. Service, and Emma Maria, his wife. (86)

T. Blanshard, Sr. Chapln.



THE ROHILLA CENOTAPH
IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCHYARD, CALCUTTA

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

(1) *Major Thomas Bolton*—married Sarah Rowe on December 23, 1784. Killed in the action against the Rohillas at Dalmow under the command of Sir Robert Abercromby, on October 26, 1794. His name will be found among those inscribed on the Rohilla cenotaph in St. John's Church, Calcutta. A similar inscription has been placed on a large red sandstone obelisk which has been erected on the right hand side of the road from Rampore to Bareilly.

(2) *J. H. Guinaud*.—In the baptismal entry of his daughter, Perretty, on November 8, 1784, his wife's Christian name is given as Charlotte: See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 196, 202.

(3) *William Phillips Williams*, schoolmaster, died on August 12, 1786.

(4) *Thomas Potenger*—Assistant at Cossimbazar, 1772: Head Assistant to Henry Cottrell and Francis Law, Commercial Chiefs at Dacca, 1780-1785: permitted to proceed to Europe in the *Manship* Indiaman, December 1786.

(5) *Joshua Williams*—Collector of Government Customs at Dacca: obtains a subsistence allowance upon the abolition of his appointment, September 1788, and resigns the service in the December following. Receives a passage to England on the *Kent* Indiaman.

(6) *George Gowan*—married Mary Parry on July 17, 1789.

(7) *Ambrose Kipling* (or Kepling)—Died in Calcutta, September 22, 1801, aged 60. "One of the oldest Commanders out of this port".

(8) *Ann Creighton*—died in Calcutta in 1803, aged 43. Her husband's sister, also Ann Creighton, married William Ledlie as his first wife at St. John's Church on May 21, 1785, and died in Calcutta on December 25, 1794: See note (14).

Edward Creighton—cf. *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* for Saturday February 4, 1780: "Edward Creighton late Cook to the Hon'ble Sir Thomas Rumbold, Governor of Madras, and who served his apprenticeship at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, and John Nicolls, late Steward to the Hon'ble Sir Elijah Impey, humbly beg leave to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of Calcutta that they jointly propose carrying on the Tavern business, and have taken the House which was Captain Hicks's on the south-east side of the China Bazar." A further advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of October 14, 1784, announces that "Mr. Creighton has reopened the Harmonic Tavern," which was in Lall Bazar, on the site of the present Police Office. The public are invited to attend the "assemblies". "Two country dances and a cotillon are to be continued alternately during the evening" but "no hookahs" are to be "admitted upstairs". Creighton had formidable rivals in "Messrs. Martin and Lacey, Masters of the London Tavern",

which was in Vansittart Row, on the south side of Tank Square. In their advertisement on October 7, 1784, they "most humbly present their respects to the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Settlement and take the liberty of informing them that they have opened a subscription for an assembly, once a fortnight, during the cold weather, to begin on Tuesday, the 2nd November next, and to continue every 2nd Tuesday, provided there shall be 150 subscribers". They add a solemn declaration that they did not know that the Harmonic Tavern would again be opened as a Tavern, "when they contracted with a builder about two months ago to erect a large and commodious Assembly Room, ninety-six feet long and thirty-six feet broad".

(9) *Eldred Addison*—writer, 1775, and commissary of musters and supplies to the third brigade.

(10) *Lt.-Col. Allen Macpherson*—Adjutant of the 1st Brigade 1765: Captain 1768: Major 1781: Lieut.-Colonel 1783: Quarter-master General: Resigned the service in March 1791. Married Eliza Fraser at Berhampore in 1781 (1). A kinsman of Sir John Macpherson, the "Gentle Giant" of Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*, who officiated as Governor-General from February 1785 to September, 1786.

Portraits of Allen Macpherson, his wife, and his brother John Macpherson (who was in India between 1770 and 1787) were painted by John Thomas Seton and are in the possession of his great grandson Mr. W. C. Macpherson, C.S.I. See article by Sir William Foster in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 1.

(11) *George Augustus Chicheley Plowden*.—Writer on the Bengal Establishment, 1802: arrived in India, April 2, 1804: died, November 16, 1804.

Richard Chicheley Plowden, the father, married Elizabeth Sophia Prosser in 1777. He was appointed to be a member of the Committee of Accounts at Calcutta in 1784 and left India in 1790. Director of the Company from 1803 to 1829. The title of Begum was conferred upon his wife by Shah Alam in 1788: and the *sanad* is still preserved in the family.

(12) *Robert Henry Dick*.—Afterwards Major-General Sir Robert Dick. Served in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo: K.C.H., 1832: Major-General, 1837: K.C.B., 1838: Commanded a Division in Madras, 1838 and acted as Commander-in-Chief, 1841-42: killed at Sobraon, February 10, 1846, by one of the last shots fired. There is a tablet to his memory in St. George's Cathedral, Madras. His portrait is to be seen (end figure on the spectator's left) in a picture representing "The Installation on the Musnud of H. H. the Nabob of the Carnatic, 1842", which hangs in Government House, Madras. It was painted by F. C. Lewis (junior) at Madras in 1842, and was purchased

(1) Mrs. Macpherson's sister Mary married on November 4, 1787, Captain Hiram Cox, Commander of the Ship *Clive*, after whom Cox's Bazar is named and who died on August 2, 1799, aged 39, at Chittagong, "of a fever with which he was attacked at Rummo, while on a deputation from Government to settle some affairs with the Burmans in the district." He was sent on a mission to the Court of Ava and his *Journal of a Residence in the Burman Empire* was brought out in 1821 by his son, Harry C. M. Cox.

in 1859 at the dispersal of the Chepauk Palace collection. An engraving by F. C. Lewis (senior) and C. G. Lewis is to be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall and also in Room 108 at the India Office (Foster's catalogue). Lord Elphinstone was Governor of Fort Saint George at the time. Sir Robert Dick's younger brother, William Fleming Dick, was in the Bengal Civil Service: see note (61).

The father William Dick, is, no doubt, the subject of the following curious entry in the Farington Diary for February 13, 1809 ("Morning Post", April 6, 1923):

Dance (R. A.).....spoke of Sir G. Beaumont's improved health, attributed to taking calomel and to daily washing himself, *body and limbs*, with cold water: not immersing Himself in cold water, but washing each part successively.—My brother [Richard Atherton Farington, a retired "Company's ship" Captain] said that Dr. Dick, who recommended this mode of proceeding, was Surgeon's Mate on board [an] East Indiaman: that He afterwards settled in Bengal, where he was much appreciated as a Physician.

Dick went out to India in 1781 and resigned the service in Europe on December 17, 1803, when he must have set up in practice in London, for he is mentioned by Farington in a later entry of March 30, 1809, as being in medical attendance on Sir George Beaumont, a well-known art patron of the day. The Registers of St. John's Church record the marriage on September 8, 1783, of Mr. William Dick, Assistant Surgeon, to Charlotte McClaran, Spinster. Mr. J. J. Cotton in his List of Monumental Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency (s. v. Sir Robert Henry Dick) relates a story that, when Henry Dundas and Edmund Burke were staying at Dunkeld with the Duke of Atholl, they accidentally met, when out walking, a farmer's daughter who gave them refreshments and, on learning who they were, begged them to help a young doctor, William Dick, to whom she was betrothed but who was too poor to marry. Dundas gave the doctor an appointment as Assistant Surgeon in the Company's service, whereupon he went to India and made a large fortune with which he purchased the estate of Tullymet in Perthshire on his retirement.

(13) *Edward Durham Hall*—The mother was a sister of Hercules Durham, the advocate (admitted January 7, 1775: died October 19, 1776) who represented the Crown at the trial of Nuncomar: See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212.

(14) *William Ledlie*.—Arrived in India, 1783: and admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court on November 23, 1793. Married (1) on May 21, 1785, Ann Creighton who died on December 25, 1794; (2) on February 14, 1797, Margaret MacInness. Died at Serampore on January 2, 1804. The child Thomas died on Sept. 7, 1787.

(15) *Ross Jennings*: "merchant and indigo manufacturer, zillah Midnapore" (Calcutta Directory for 1804).

(16) *Alexander Colvin*.—Born. April 11, 1756, died December 15, 1818. Married Maria Margaret Paterson in Calcutta on February 28, 1786. A "free merchant": founder of the house of Colvin Ainslie and Cowie. One of the jurors who tried the indictment against James Augustus Hicky for a libel on Mr. Hastings, Governor-General, published in the *Bengal Gazette*, No. IX of March 24, 1781. A verdict of not guilty was returned on June 27, 1781. Died at Calcutta on December 15, 1818, at the age of 62. There is a monument to his memory in St. John's Church. His tomb is in South Park Street Cemetery. Uncle of John Russell Colvin, Lieutenant-General of the N.-W. Provinces, 1853-57.

Alexander John Colvin, whose baptism forms the subject of the entry, also served in the Bengal Civil Service: writer, 1805, Judge of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at Allahabad, 1831.

(17) *Christopher Green*.—Cadet, Bengal Artillery, 1770: Colonel commanding the Artillery, 1800.

(18) *Samuel Swinhoe*.—infantry cadet on the Bengal Establishment 1805: arrived in the *Huddart* (Captain William Eastfield) on March 17, 1805: Lieutenant doing duty with the 27th Bengal Infantry, March 27, 1805: Lieutenant-Colonel, 1830. He was the brother-in-law of Major-General Sir William Nott (died 1845) who married his sister Letitia on October 7, 1805: See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 166. Richard Wellesley Barlow, of the Bengal Civil Service and sixth son of Sir George Hilary Barlow, Bart, married Nott's second daughter Maria on March 2, 1835 (2), and Charles Augustus Nott was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on March 1 of the same year. Two infant children, Henry Swinhoe Nott (1810-1812) and John Nott (1812) are buried in the South Park Street cemetery.

(19) *Pellegrine Treves*.—Writer, October 13, 1784. When Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General in 1786, he was much pestered by men of high rank in England to perpetrate "some infamous and unjustifiable job". On one occasion the Prince of Wales asked that "a black named Alii cawn" (Ali Ibrahim Khan) who was chief criminal judge of Benares, might be displaced "to make room for a youth named Pellegrine Treves, son of a notorious London moneylender" (3). Treves was Resident at Benares from 1790 to 1794, and was appointed Judge of the Provincial Court of appeal at the place, in 1795. In 1807 he obtained the post of Collector of

(2) Their eldest son, who was also named Richard Wellesley Barlow, was in the Madras Civil Service from 1855 to 1887. He succeeded his cousin as fourth baronet in 1889 and died in 1904.

(3) Cf. entry in Farington Diary for October 14, 1802:

The Prince [of Wales] is much abt. riding and walking (at Brighton).....His established companies are Admiral Payne, Treves the Jew, [Sir John] Day who was formerly in India [as Advocate-General at Calcutta] and Cole Coningham. When the Prince is invited to dine out at Brighton it is usual to ask these persons also.

the 24 Pergunnahs, and was in Calcutta in 1812, as witness the following entry in Lady Nugent's Journal:

May 19th (1812): Dined with Mr. Treves, whose house is in the old fort, and near the Black Hole. The entertainment was handsome and the house uncommonly well lit up, still there was an air of gloom in my mind's eye, for I thought I saw all the suffering wretches who had been shut up there formerly, and there was something shocking to the feelings in contrast with the present scene.

He subsequently became Postmaster General and was holding that office in 1820. In 1823 he was still in the service but "out of employ". Married on September 7, 1785, Hetty Stokes and died at Lucknow on August 23, 1825. An engraving may be seen in the Victoria Memorial Hall of a portrait of Saadat Aly Khan, Nawab Vizier of Oudh (1798-1814) "now in the possession of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales and painted at Lucknow for P. Treves, Junior, Esqre, by George Place" (who died at Lucknow on August 11, 1805.)

(20) *Maria Bathurst*—died in Calcutta in 1803. Her grave is in the North Part Street cemetery.

Robert Bathurst, the father, was nominated to a writership in 1772. On August 17, 1787, he was appointed to succeed G. F. Grand as Collector of Tirhoot and Hajipore. Military Paymaster 1801; Collector of Customs at Furruckabad, 1804. Married Maria Leister at Patna on January 24, 1784, when Grand signed the register (4). "Retired to England with a considerable fortune derived from his indigo manufactories" (Grand, Narrative, 1911 reprint, p. 122). But he appears to have returned, for one of the tablets erected on the gateway of the South Park Street cemetery records the death of Robert Bathurst, Collector of Customs at Mirzapore, on November 3, 1821, at the age of 67. The Rev. B. G. Wilkinson, of Pimperne Rectory, Blandford, is stated by Dr. G. C. Williamson to possess a portrait, painted by Zoffany about 1800, of Mrs. Robert Bathurst and an infant daughter, Catherine, who subsequently married a Mr. J. E. Wilkinson. An ayah with a tambourine stands behind the sofa on which Mrs. Bathurst is seated.

(21) *Robert Samuel Perreau*—arrived in Calcutta from Fort Saint George in 1780 and married Mary Cooper on January 14, 1786. Paymaster of Colonel Popham's detachment in 1781, when he was present at the taking of Bijaighur, the "Bidzeegur" of Daniell's drawing. He was for a

(4) Grand acted as chaplain on July 10, 1789, when he married Crichton Frazer, assistant surgeon in the Company's service at Patna, to Charlotte Blanshard, the daughter of the Rev. Thomas Blanshard. "There being no clergyman at hand", the duty devolved upon him as judge and magistrate. Betty Blanshard, an elder sister, was married at Cawnpore on March 13, 1781, to Major Alexander Hardy. Her father was then Chaplain to the second Brigade, and performed the ceremony.

time Agent at Calcutta for Fort Marlborough and later on founded the firm of Perreau and Palling. On March 7, 1792, he witnessed the marriage of John Palling (who came out in the *Duke of Kingston* Indiaman in 1780) and Anna Maria Graveley, (who died on April 25, 1794, at the age of nineteen). Perreau was one of the old Westminsters who joined with Warren Hastings in presenting in 1777 a silver cup to Westminster School for the use of the King's scholars. The subscribers numbered twenty-two and their names are engraved on the cup. Among the others were Sir Elijah Impey and William Markham, son of the Archbishop of York, who was Resident at Benares at the time of the rebellion of Cheyt Singh (5). Perreau was also present at the dinner given by William Hickey to old Westminsters at his house in 1784 (*Memoirs*, Vol. III. p. 245). Hastings, who annually gave a dinner of the kind, did not attend, "as etiquette did not allow": but the company, which numbered forty-six, included William Burke, Peter Touchet, Edward Hay (the Chief Secretary to Government) and "the Reverend Mr. Owen, a pedantic Methodistical parson, then recently arrived from England as chaplain": as to whom see note (34). They sent a gold cup to Dr. Vincent the headmaster who informed them in return that the Latin inscription contained a false concord. Perreau died at Patna on March 22, 1811, aged 50 years.

(21A) *William Kirkpatrick*—married Maria Pawson on September 26, 1782: See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 214.

(22) *The Berrington* (755 tons, Capt. Thomas Ley) arrived in the Downs on August 11, 1787 and the *Earl of Oxford* (758 tons, Capt. John White, Junr) on September 18, 1787.

(23) *Henry Vansittart*—died in Calcutta on October 7, 1786. For an account of the Vansittart family, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 213.

Catherine Vansittart—was born on December 8, 1786. Her godfather at her baptism was George Powney, and her godmothers, Mrs. Casamaijor wife of James Henry Casamaijor of the Madras Civil Service, and Mrs. Sarah Vansittart.

(24) *Benjamin Grindall*—married Charlotte Powney on September 7, 1785. Judge of the Dewany Adawlut at Ghazipore, 1782. Controller of Salt, 1789 to 1794: Died at Patna, July 1797. His sister-in-law, Catherine

(5) The most noteworthy memorial of Hastings at the School is a silver cup, or poculum, of large size and great weight, called the "Warren Hastings Cup," which was presented in 1777, for the use of the King's Scholars of St. Peter's College, by Hastings and other "old boys" then residing in India, in token of their undiminished attachment for their School. On one side of the cup the arms of the School (without the motto, "Dat Deus incrementum") are engraved, and the other side bears the following inscription: "Alumnis Regii Scholae Westmon: ipsi plerique Alumni, D.D.D.," beneath which are the names: Warren Hastings, Elijah Impey, Geo. Templer, Edw. Hay, Joh. Wombwell, Gul. Markham, Joh. White, Cl. Benezet, Pet. Touchet, Rob. Holt, Joh. Scawen, Joh. Williams, Alex. Macleod, R. S. Perreau, Edw. Bengough, G. C. Meyer, Car. Cooper, Geo. Arbuthnot, F. Pierard, Car. Mouatt, Gul. Franklin, and Gual. Hawkes."—Lawson: "The Private Life of Warren Hastings."

Powney, married firstly, Henry Vansittart, and, secondly George Nesbitt Thompson, the Secretary of Warren Hastings. See notes (23) and (82). Mary Grindall married William Arnold on June 10, 1802. Rivers Grindall (writer 1801) died at the Cape of Good Hope on November 13, 1831.

(25) *Richard Humfrey*, or *Humfrays*—of the Bengal Engineers (cadet 1778) married Margaret Kiernan on February 16, 1786. His rank as Captain dated from May 31 of that year. In 1801 he was promoted to be Lieutenant Colonel and stationed at Chunar.

(25A) *William Cairnes*—Cf. Hickey's *Memoirs* (Vol. III, p. 265): "Major Cairnes was an Irishman, very well connected, and inherited a fortune of about £600 a year. When just turned twenty-one years of age, he married a young countrywoman, the daughter of a gentleman who resided in the neighbourhood." His house in 1785 was "about three miles from Calcutta." They left for Madras in 1789. Cairnes was given a company in one of the King's Regiments by (the second) Lord Clive who was then Governor, but he died about ten months after his arrival at Fort Saint George.

(26) *David Anstruther*—Commanding Officer of the Nawab Nazim's bodyguard at Moorshedabad. He was one of the party invited by Robert Pott to dinner at Afzulbaug to meet William Hickey in April or May, 1785 (*Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 278). Sketch No. 23 in "Twenty-four views of Hindoostan drawn by W. Orme from the original pictures by Mr. [Thomas] Daniell and Colonel [Francis Swain] Ward," published in London in January 1805, represents "Felicia Hall, late the Residence of the Hon'ble David Anstruther, near Moorshedabad, Bengal." It is one of the ten to which the name of Thomas Daniell is appended. The house, Hickey tells us, was about two miles from Afzulbaug. See also "Hartly House", p. 82: "The Captain or Commanding Officer of the Nabob's guards [sc. Nawab Nazim Mobaruck-ud-Dowlah, son of Meer Jaffir] which consists of a whole battalion of black troops, is an Englishman, a younger brother of an ennobled family and who paid £80,000 (acquired in this world of wealth) for the appointment". Married Mary Donaldson, who was, according to William Hickey (*Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 320), "the daughter of a needy tradesman in a country village of Scotland", but see the announcement in James Augustus Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*: February 26, 1780: "Married last Sunday at Cossimbazar the Hon'ble David Anstruther, Lieutenant of the Yellow, to Miss Donaldson of that place, a young lady of beauty and infinite accomplishments." One of the tombs in the old Residency cemetery at Cossimbazar bears the name of Alexander D'Oyly Anstruther, son of David and Mary Anstruther, died March 8, 1785, aged 2 years and 16 days. The Annual Register records the death on August 17, 1778, of "the Hon'ble Lieutenant Francis Anstruther at Madras."

(27) *Henry Griffiths*—Resigned the office of Salt Agent for the Twenty-four Pergunnahs in January 1781, after seventeen years' service, and proceeded to England on board the *Berrington* with his two children.

(28) *George Aubrey*, or *Awbery*—married Ann Botham at St. John's Church, Calcutta, on March 16, 1786. Ensign on the Madras Establishment, November 9, 1773: Captain-Lieutenant, November 21, 1783. Struck off the list on February 25, 1789, upon joining the King's service.

(29) *Francis Gladwin*—married Sarah Alexander on July 11, 1782. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 206.

(30) *Hon. Robert Lindsay*—Second son of the fifth Earl of Balcarres: obtained a nomination as writer through Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, and landed in Calcutta in September, 1772. After spending some years at Dacca, he succeeded William Holland as Collector of Sylhet in 1777: See *Lives of the Lindsay* and Sir William Hunter's *Thackerays in India*. "Thrown on his own resources, he assumed by turns the character of soldier, magistrate, political agent, elephant catcher, tiger-hunter, ship-builder, lime-manufacturer, physician and surgeon." He left India in 1787, having purchased the barony of Leuchar in Fife: and enjoyed for fifty years in England the large fortune he had amassed. In 1788, he married the daughter of Sir Alexander Dick, having, as he said, "marked her for his own" before he went to India. Two of his grandsons were Sir Coutts Lindsay (of the Grosvenor Gallery) and Lord Wantage, V. C. He owned a house in Calcutta in what is now Lindsay Street.

(31) *Christopher Keating*—writer, 1769; Collector of Beerbhoom, 1793 (see Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*): Senior Judge of the Court of Appeal at Patna, 1795.

Polly Keating—the child baptized, married Lieut.-Col. Samuel Bradshaw of the 17th B. N. I. at Patna on February 19, 1801, and died at that place on October 14, 1806.

(32) *Fairfax Moresby*—(the elder) became Lieut.-Col. of the Stafford Militia and commander of the Lichfield volunteers on his return to England. There is a reference in Hickey's *Memoirs* (Vol. III, pp. 225, 226) to a "scene" between him and Mr. Justice Hyde, over an application for bail, Married on October 15, 1784, Mary Rotten. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 221.

Fairfax Moresby—(the younger) entered the Royal Navy, and became Admiral of the Fleet and G. C. B. His eldest son, Commander Fairfax Moresby, was lost at sea in Bass's Straits, off the coast of Tasmania, when in command of the *Sappho* in 1858. The second son was Admiral John Moresby, after whom Port Moresby, the capital of New Guinea, is named: See his book "Two Admirals" (Murray, 1909).

(33) *William Nathan Wrighte Hewett*—Register of the Dewanny Adawlut at Midnapore, 1785; Salt Agent at Hijili, 1786-1796: Judge and Magistrate of Hijili, 1787-1794. Married Martha Tuting on September 16, 1785. Grandfather of Admiral Sir William Nathan Wrighte Hewett: whose father William Wrighte Hewett (born December 5, 1795) became an Assistant Surgeon on the Bengal establishment in 1821, taking the degree

of M. D. at Aberdeen University in the same year, and acted as Medical Officer to the Governor-General's Bodyguard from January 1829 to April 1830, when he retired and was appointed physician to King William the Fourth.

(34) *John Owen*—was transferred from the garrison chaplaincy to be junior Chaplain at St. John's Church on the departure of William Johnson in 1788. Returned to Europe in 1794.

(35) *Capt. Robert Frith*.—See "Letters of Warren Hastings to his wife" (p. 265). Accompanied Hastings to Benares in 1784 and was left behind at Lucknow in command of a portion of the Nawab Vizier's forces. In 1790 he and his regiment—"a small corps of horse, the finest ever seen in the British Service"—escorted Lord Cornwallis to Madras for the second campaign against Tippoo. Charges were brought against him that his men refused to face the enemy, but he demanded an enquiry and was justified by a court strongly hostile to him. In 1795 he took the lead, with Major Popham, in the agitation of the Bengal European officers for redress of their grievances: and probably suffered for this breach of discipline, since in 1807 his son writes from Agra to say that he has died in very poor circumstances.

(36) *Robert Grant*—a brother of Charles Grant: writer 1778: Judge at Futtyghur in August 1803 at the time of Lord Valentia's visit (Travels, Vol. I, pp. 183, 191); Collector of Customs at Cawnpore 1804: died at Mussoorie on April 21, 1830. Married Elizabeth Farquharson at St. John's Church on August 3, 1787. Her sister Mary (died in Calcutta on September 3, 1818) was married on June 13, 1796, to John Fendall, senior merchant and afterwards Member of Council at Fort William from May 20, 1820, until his death in Calcutta on November 10, 1825: See note (82).

(37) *George Dandridge*—Agent for despatching the *Manship* and *Triton* Indiamen, 1788. Resigned the service from the Cape of Good Hope in 1793 and proceeded to Europe. Returned to the Presidency in 1797, and was appointed Collector of Tippera in 1800. Obtained a passage to Europe on the *Castle Eden* with his family in December 1800.

(38) *Chinsurah*—was a Dutch Settlement until 1815, when it was exchanged for Bencoolen and Fort Marlboro' on the island of Sumatra.

(39) *Joseph Garnault*.—The *Ganges* (758 tons) sailed from Portsmouth on February 1, 1786, for "the Coast and the Bay" and arrived in the Downs on her return on July 26, 1787. But Captain James Williamson was then in command, and Joseph Garnault was First Officer. On the next voyage which was to China (March 29, 1789 to April 26, 1790) Garnault was in command. He was again in command on a voyage to the Coast and China (January 17, 1792 to March 10, 1793) and again to China (May 2, 1794 to July 25, 1795). A third voyage was made to St. Helena, Bencoolen and China (June 5, 1797 to February 10, 1799), after which the command passed into the hands of Capt. Alexander Gray.

(39A) *William Armstrong*—A Company's servant of this name was Collector of Dacca in 1794 and of Midnapore in 1797.

(40) *William Henry Chicheley Plowden*.—Writer on the China Establishment at Canton, 1804: President of the Select Committee, 1828 to 1830: Director of the East India Company from 1841 to 1853. M. P. for Newport (Isle of Wight) from 1847 to 1852. Died in March, 1880, at the age of 93. He was present as a boy in Westminster Hall at the trial of Warren Hastings and had an interview with Napoleon at St. Helena in 1816.

(41) *John Burgh*—married Elizabeth Mary Cumberlege on May 2, 1783 at 'Affsulbaug, near Moorshedabad'. The ceremony was performed by Rev. William Lewis, "Chaplain of Burrampore" in the presence of Sir John D'Oyly (the sixth baronet).

(41A) *Samuel Farmer*—married Susanna Robinanna Brown on March 3, 1789.

(42) *Thomas Raban*—Attorney of the Supreme Court and Attorney for Paupers. Came out in the *Ganges Indiaman* in 1779.

Ralph Uvedale—after whom the child was named was Clerk of the Crown and Prothonotary: and served the office of Sheriff of Calcutta in 1796. Enrolled as an advocate on January 13, 1782, although not a barrister. He died in Calcutta on May 18, 1813, at the age of 66.

(43) *James Mary Carlier*—described as a "cook" in the Calcutta Directory for 1802: was keeping "Carlier and Scornec's Tavern" in 1804. The child *John James*, died on December 14, 1788.

John Wilton—his employer, was a writer of 1776: Sheriff, 1789. Appointed Commercial Resident at Keerpoy (Khirpai near Midnapore) in 1790. Brother of Lady Chambers. Their father was Joseph Wilton, the sculptor (1722—1803) who was a foundation member of the Royal Academy and became Keeper in 1791 on the death of Agostino Carlini. It was at his house, according to Joseph Farington (Diary, March 10, 1796) that steps were taken in 1769 to petition the King to establish the Academy.

(44) *Thomas Hawkins*—cadet, 1778: major 1st regiment B.N.I., 1802.

(45) *John Dawson*—cadet 1780: Captain, 19th regiment B.N.I., 1800.

(46) *William Dent*—Salt Agent at Tumlook, 1783-1787 and 1790-1795. Married on September 1, 1786 Louisa Blunt, daughter of Sir Charles William Blunt, Bart (who died at Pultah on September 29, 1802, at the age of 72: a marble monument to his memory may be seen in St. John's Church). Of her sisters, two were married on May 20, 1795, from "Lady Shore's garden house" (6): Lydia to Sir Alexander Seton, Bart. of the Civil Service (who died in 1811) and Anna Maria, to the Hon'ble Charles Andrew Bruce afterwards Governor of Prince of Wales Island (who died in 1810). Another sister, Charlotte, was married to Sir Charles Imhoff, the stepson of Warren Hastings: and a fourth, Maria Tryphena, on February

(6) A water-colour sketch drawn in 1801 by James Hunter of "Sir John Shore's Garden House at Garden Reach" has lately been added to the collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall. It will be found in the Calcutta Room.

4, 1789 to Charles Cockerell, afterwards a baronet (she died in the year following). Zoffany painted portraits of William Dent and his brother Capt. John Dent of the Company's Military Service (who at one time commanded the Bhagalpur Militia), with an Indian orderly, a bailiff, and a labourer: and also a second group, representing Mrs. Dent and her two children Sophia Louisa, the subject of this entry, and Charles William (baptized August 31, 1788). Both pictures are now in the possession of the Rev. Dr. H. E. D. Blakiston, President of Trinity College, Oxford, who is the grandson of Sophia Louisa Dent.

(47) *Henry Ramus*—Cf. *Memoirs of William Hickey* (Vol. I, p. 283): "Mr. Henry Ramus another acquaintance of mine went out a writer the same season [1772-73: as Robert Pott.] His eldest brother George and I were contemporaries at Westminster and great cronies" (7). Brother of Benedicta Ramus, wife of Sir John Day, Advocate-General. Their father was Nicholas Ramus, head page to the King. Married on November 6, 1779, Johanna, daughter of George Louis Vernet, Governor of the Dutch Settlement of Chinsurah from 1764 to 1770. This was his second wife and the match was arranged by Mrs. Hastings. Francis notes in his Diary in November, 1779: "Sir J. Day appears to be excessively hurt at the marriage of Ramus with Miss Vernet: he says it has been hurried in a most extraordinary manner by Mrs. Hastings." Ramus was Commissary at Chinsurah, 1781; Collector of Ramghur (Chota Nagpur) 1778-1779; subsequently Member of Committee of Grain and elephant contractor: senior judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit at Calcutta, 1804. One of his daughters (unnamed but described in the announcement as "a young lady of great beauty and elegant accomplishments") was married on August 23, 1801, at "the new Church" in Calcutta (St. John's) to Archibald Cockburn, Registrar of Hooghly (writer 1795; Collector of Behar, 1807: died at Patna, September 16, 1812). James Money, also of the Civil Service (writer 1790, Commercial Resident at Cossimbazar 1828: retired 1831 and died January 1833) married on May 4, 1804, Eliza Louisa, another daughter.

(48) *James Kilpatrick*—pensioner and keeper of the Atcheepore magazine, 1802. Married Ann Wattan on July 18, 1786.

(49) *Elizabeth Jane Skinner*—married at Berhampore, on January 8, 1803, to James Oldham Oldham, of the Company's Civil Service (writer 1797) then first assistant to the Commercial Resident at Cossimbazar (proceeded to Europe 1824, out of the service 1830).

Lt.-Col. Hercules Skinner, of the 19th B. N. I. (cadet 1771) died at Burragong on July 12, 1803.

(50) *Primrose Macinniss*—widow, married John Baptist Levesque on October 13, 1792. Levesque was clerk of St. John's Church and Schoolmaster of the Charity School until the arrival of Robert Hollier in 1785.

(7) The appointment of Robert Pott to a writership on the Bengal establishment is recorded in the Court Minutes of November 27, 1772.

(50A) *Major George Mence*—married Elizabeth Donaldson at "Moradbaug, near Burrampore" on June 17, 1786: she was probably a sister of Mary Donaldson, wife of the Hon'ble David Anstruther, as to whom see note (26).

(51) *John Addison*: writer, 1776: married Lucy Clark on September 8, 1784. Represented General Clavering on the famous occasion (June 20, 1777) when the Judges decided that Hastings had not vacated the office of Governor-General. Judge of the Dewanny Adawlut of Nattor, 1782. Head assistant at the Moorshedabad Durbar during the Residency of Sir John D'Oyly, (who vacated the office in July, 1784) and continued in the same capacity under his successor Robert Pott, with whom he had a violent quarrel in March, 1788. (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 328). Clerk of the Court of Requests from 1792 to 1794. Collector of Government Customs at Hidgelee 1803 and at Moorshedabad 1807.

(52) *Isaac Golledge*—deputy assistant to the master attendant (Cudbert Thornhill): died on April 3, 1802.

(53) The *Thetis* (804 tons, Capt. Justinian Nutt) arrived in the Downs on June 25, 1788.

(54) *William Ledlie*—the younger. Cornet and ensign in the Bengal Cavalry, 1806. See note (14).

(55) *Montagu Samuel Perreau*—died in Calcutta November 25, 1788. For *Robert Samuel Perreau*, the father, see note (21).

(55A) *George Gordon*—Gordon and Hay were the printers of the *India Gazette*. John Hay died on March 8, 1787.

(56) *Alexander Davidson*—of the firm of Davidson and Wilson, kept a "Europe shop" in old Court House Street. Came out in 1784 (Calcutta Directory for 1802).

(57) *John Edmondson*—"Lieut. Colonel in the Hon'ble Company's Service," married Sarah Ware on March 15, 1786 and died on February 2, 1789. There is a long Latin inscription on his tomb in South Park Street cemetery. His widow married Capt. John Pearson of the Company's Service, on July 15, 1791.

(58) *Major Isaac Burraud*—Commanding the invalid artillery at Budge Budge, 1785.

(59) *John Martin*—"Victualler", married Martha Bear on September 4, 1784. One of the "Masters of the London Tavern": See note (8). His partner, John Lacey, married Avis Hicks (Mrs. Fay's milliner assistant) on March 19, 1785: she was drowned on September 9, 1786, in the wreck of the *Severn* packet "on a sand called the broken ground just below Ingellee". See Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters from India* (Forster's edition, 1925: p. 239). The "London Hotel" is mentioned in *Hartly House* (1908 reprint: p. 59): "I was also shown, *en passant*, a tavern called the London Hotel, where entertainments are furnished at the moderate price of a gold

mohr a head exclusive of the dessert and wines. Two very expensive articles indeed: for claret, notwithstanding its free consumption, is in private families Five Rupees (twelve shillings and six pence) a bottle."

(60) *Charlotte Deare*—died in Calcutta on April 20, 1788.

(61) *William Fleming Dick*—Writer, July 29, 1805: arrived in Bengal, September 1, 1805: became judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at Allahabad, September 14, 1833: retired on annuity, February 27, 1838. Brother of Major-General Sir Robert Dick: see note (12). Married Emily Shakespear, sister of Col. Sir Richmond Shakespear (1812-1851) and daughter of John Talbot Shakespear (writer 1800, died at the Cape of Good Hope on April 12, 1825) and Emily Thackeray (died of cholera in Calcutta on September 29, 1824). For letters written by Sir Richmond Shakespear to Emily Dick in 1838-40 from Candahar, Heraut, and Khiva, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. VI, pp. 297-317.

Nine civilians of the name of Dick served in Bengal from 1792 to 1842: Sir Robert Keith Dick, Bart. (writer 1792, resigned in India 1813), William Fleming Dick (1805-1838), James Charters Dick (writer 1809, died at Bareilly, 1831), Abercrombie Dick (writer 1810), John Dick (writer 1817, died in Calcutta 1825), John Campbell Dick (writer 1827), Robert Kerr Dick (writer 1828), Alexander Thomas Dick (writer 1829) and Henry Lindsay Dick (writer 1831, resigned 1834).

(62) *Mark Wood*.—Born 1747: joined Bengal Engineers, 1772: Colonel, 1793: Chief Engineer in Bengal, 1790: returned to England, 1793: M.P., 1794, 1796, 1802, retiring in 1818: Baronet, 1808: died February 6, 1829: author of the map of Calcutta published by William Baillie in 1792. Farington in his Diary (see reference in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 30) tells us that he resided 25 years in India, and had been (1803) 10 or 11 years in England: that he had four children, two boys and two girls, and "is reckoned to have brought from India £200,000": and finally that he bought the Borough of Gatton, which contained seven voters, for £90,000. He was an extensive landholder in Calcutta, where his name is perpetuated by Wood Street.

(63) *John Evelyn*—then a senior merchant in the Company's Service, and Ann Shee, were married at Dacca on April 14, 1787, by Matthew Day, Revenue Chief of that place, in the presence of Cosby Burrowes and George Shee, brother of the bride. They were remarried in St. John's Church, Calcutta, on November 24 of the same year.

William Cowper—godfather, was member of the Supreme Council at Fort William from November 6, 1790, to February 25, 1801. Returned to England in the *Lady Burges* Indiaman with James Paull (see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 70) and gave evidence before the House of Commons in connexion with Paull's abortive attempt to impeach Lord Wellesley (ibid. p. 91).

William Burke—a kinsman of Edmund Burke who nominated him as his deputy in India when appointed Paymaster-General of the King's Forces out of Great Britain (excluding Ireland). See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 15.

For *Mrs. Elizabeth Shee*—the godmother, and her husband *George Shee*, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212.

(64) *John Mackenzie*—Presidency Customs Master, 1782: fourth member of the Board of Revenue 1786: assay master 1801: military paymaster general 1803. Hastings at his impeachment gave the following particulars regarding Mackenzie:

I concurred in giving this contract (for opium) to Mr. Mackenzie in 1777: but if it could be supposed that I had been actuated in my public conduct by the motives which my accuser imputes to me, Mr. Mackenzie was the last man in Bengal whom I should have patronized. His connexion in this country and in India has invariably been hostile to me. He went originally as a cadet to Bombay in 1770, conducted as Secretary to the late General Wedderburn, upon his death he returned to England and was sent to Bengal with the rank of Factor in 1776 by the influence, as I have always understood, of Lord Loughborough. He was on the most intimate terms with my opponent Mr. Francis.

Alexander Mackenzie—Writer, 1801. Judge and Magistrate of Backergunge, 1816-1820: civil and sessions judge at Cawnpore, 1833. Died at Cawnpore, July 30, 1833.

(65) *Robert Hollow*—died in Calcutta, 1889. The father *John Hollow* was "a monthly writer" or clerk.

(66) *George Hudson*—assistant to the Accountant, Board of Revenue (Calcutta Directory, 1803).

(67) *Richard Brittridge*.—There was an engraver of the name in Calcutta at the time. A portrait of Warren Hastings attributed to Zoffany was engraved in Calcutta by R. Brittridge and published by him in 1784 (small line engraving: $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$). It was sold at two gold mohurs a copy, framed and glazed. The same picture, set in an ornamental oval frame and engraved anonymously, was published by John Murray in 1806 as a frontispiece to Hastings' "Memoirs Relative to the State of India."

A Richard Brittridge was an indigo manufacturer at Benares in 1802.

Richard Blechynden—after whom the child was named, was a civil architect and surveyor in Calcutta and came out in 1781. (See *Calcutta Past and Present*, 1905, by Kathleen Blechynden). Succeeded Edward Tiretta as Registrar of Deeds (8).

(8) James Blechynden married Sarah Thackeray "the only daughter of Richmond Thackeray," who died on May 25, 1841, and is buried in the North Park Street Cemetery in a tomb next to her father's. She was born in 1804 and baptized in 1815, ten days after her father's death. Richmond Thackeray married Anne Becher at St. John's Church on October 13, 1810: and died at Alipore on Sept. 13, 1815. The novelist was born on July 18, 1811.

(68) *William Chambers*.—Writer on the Madras Establishment, 1765: Senior Merchant, 1776. Transferred to Bengal, 1780. Prothonotary and Persian Interpreter to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, 1790 Married Charity Fraser, the sister-in-law of Charles Grant. Died in Calcutta on August 22, 1793, and was buried in South Park Street Cemetery. He was a brother of Sir Robert Chambers and came out with him on the *Dutton* (676 tons) in 1774 to act as interpreter to the Court, "being a specialist in oriental languages". Was also of a scientific turn of mind, and designed several improvements in the Old Mission Church, of which the circular chancel remains.

(69) *St. George Ashe*—Lieutenant, November 3, 1778: Captain 1796: Major 1800: Lieut.-Colonel 1803: Colonel 1812: Major-General 1814: Lieut.-General 1820. Took part in Monson's retreat before Jaswantrao Holkar in 1804, as commandant of the 2nd Battalion of the 9th Bengal Infantry, when "he marched on foot at the head of his regiment and kept it in formation" (Pearse, *Memoir of Lord Lake*, pp. 292, 293). He received the special thanks of Lake, but no other reward (9).

(69A) *Harriet Ashe*—was twice married: (1) to Captain John Lumsdaine and (2) at Etawah, on July 27, 1806, to Lieutenant (afterwards Major) Howe Daniel Showers (who died in London in 1829). Georgina, her grand-daughter by her second husband, married in 1870 Sir Barnes Peacock (1810-1890) Chief Justice of Bengal from 1859 to 1870, and died aged 83 in March 1925. Lady Peacock's father, Major-General St. George Daniel Showers, commanded the 2nd European Brigade in the Mutiny and was subsequently in command at Fort William.

(70) *Thomas Gowan*—married Elizabeth Parry on August 11, 1787: See note (6).

(71) *Henry Haldane*—cf. Hickey's *Memoirs* (Vol. III, p. 288): "In the beginning of September, 1785 Lord Cornwallis arrived in the *Swallow* packet, (and) brought out with him as his Staff Colonel Ross, his private Secretary, Captain Madan and Capt. Harry Haldane, his aides-de-camp, two high-spirited and amiable men. Soon after their arrival they both became members of the Beefsteak Club". This club, says Hickey (who was elected in the same year) was limited to twenty members, and "subsisted for upwards of twenty years with the highest éclat". Haldane who was a captain in the Royal Engineers, married Maria Helm at St. John's Church on September 29, 1792, when Lord Cornwallis signed the register.

(72) *Henry Lodge*—Accountant General of the Mayor's Court and clerk to the Committee of Commerce, 1773; Secretary to the Provincial Council at Dacca, 1776: at Backergunge, November 1788: in receipt of subsistence allowance as a senior merchant 1797: resigned the service 1799.

(73) *Charles William Dent*: see note (46).

(9) Another St. George Ashe, son of Capt. Benjamin Ashe, was baptized at St. John's Church on August 31, 1777.

(74) *John Toppin*—or *Topping*: married Elizabeth Hunter on April 10, 1787. Retired as Captain-Lieutenant, 1801. The child *Richard Haswell* died on October 29, 1788.

(75) *Richard Forbes*—cadet 1778: Lieut.-Colonel commanding 3rd battalion of Invalids, 1801.

(76) *John Herbert Harington*—Writer, 1780: Revenue Persian Translator, 1783: Collector of Calcutta, 1788: Secretary to the Board of Revenue, 1788-1791: Fourth Member, Board of Revenue, 1798: Judge of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, 1801-1812: Chief Judge, 1812-19: Member of the Supreme Council, 1821-23: retired, 1827, and died in London, April 9, 1828. President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1824. His portrait hangs in the Judges' Library at the High Court, and Harington Street is named after him. The child *Charles* died on September 8, 1788.

(77) *John Bowers*—Was he the son of Mrs. Mary Bowers who died on March 4, 1781 at the age of fifty-five and whose tomb may still be seen in the South Park Street cemetery? She was, according to James Augustus Hicky, "fidgeted into the grave by fear of losing a large fortune which she had acquired by industry and frugality." A paragraph in Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* during the year 1780 records that "Mrs. Bowers was a young woman and inhabitant of Calcutta, when it was taken by the Moors in the year—, where upwards of—British subjects were confined in the dungeon: she concealed herself until after night in one of the ware houses in the factory, from whence she made her escape on board a small vessel lying in the river opposite the old Fort." As she was born in 1726 she would have been just thirty at the time of the tragedy. The entry in the Burial Register records that she was "many years an inhabitant of this place."

Joshua Bowers, soldier, was married in Calcutta on October 10, 1749 to "Frances, a country woman" Samuel Bowers, merchant, died on March 2, 1788.

(78) *George Hatch*—Assistant at Silberis, 1772: Collector of Dinajpore, 1788 to 1792.

(79) *John Edward Harington*—Accountant to the Board of Revenue, and Deputy Accountant General, 1788-1789: Collector of Moorsshedabad, 1790-1792: Resident at the Court of the Nawab Nazim, 1793. Succeeded his father as eighth baronet, 1793 (born 1760). Married on April 10, 1787, Marianne, daughter of Thomas Philpot (writer 1779: Commercial Resident at Hurripaul, 1789-1796, and at Santipore, 1799). Her sister Anne married on July 13, 1787, Thomas Calvert, senior merchant (Controller of Salt, 1787-1789). The sisters came out on the *Ravensworth* in September 1785 (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 289): and the story went in Calcutta (*ibid.* p. 344) that Lord Cornwallis intended to propose to Marianne but was forestalled by Harington.

James Harington—the subject of this entry, succeeded his father as ninth baronet on June 9, 1831, and followed him in the Bengal Civil Service

(writer, 1807): became Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal at Patna in 1833, and died there on January 5, 1835. He married in 1817, being then Magistrate of Jessore, Sophia, daughter of Charles William Steer (B. C. S. 1801-1841) and sister of Charles Steer (writer, 1830), who was judge of the High Court at Fort William from 1862 to 1865. His younger brother, Edward John Harington (born 1794, writer 1809) was Judge and Magistrate of Behar from 1824 to 1826: retired 1837, died 1857. Another brother, Richard (1800-1853), was Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, from 1842 to 1853. His grandson Richard, the twelfth baronet, was Judge of the High Court at Fort William from 1899 to 1913.

(80) *Sir Robert Chambers*—was acting as Chief Justice during the absence of Impey, who sailed for England in December 1783 and did not resign his office until November 1787. Chambers, however, did not take his seat until September 1791, when (it is said) a salute was fired from Fort William. He held the office until August 1788, when he was offered a peerage but preferred a pension of £2,000 a year. The third Chief Justice was Sir John Anstruther (1798-1806). For further particulars regarding Chambers and the children born to him in Calcutta, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 151.

Mrs. Charlotte Smoult.—Charlotte Hardcastle married on July 3, 1788, William Smoult, Attorney, and Sealer and clerk to Sir Robert Chambers. "Mr. William Johnson and Mr. William Smoult, both Attorneys, went out in the same ship (the *Dutton*) with the Judges (in 1774) and under the immediate protection of Sir Robert Chambers." (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 127). Johnson, who became Clerk of the Crown, married on January 12, 1788, Anna Maria Theresia Tolley, widow of Major William Tolley: as to whom see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 145.

Mrs. Maria Theresa Watson—widow of Colonel Henry Watson, who acted as second to Francis in the Duel with Hastings: see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 166.

Mrs. Dick—see note (7).

(81) *John White*—writer 1778: Sub-Secretary in the Public Department, 1787: Remembrancer to Criminal Courts, 1790: returned to Europe, January, 1800. Married at St John's Church to Matilda Denton on November 4, 1784. Her sister Charlotte married Robert Tomlinson, senior merchant (accountant to the Board of Trade 1784-1787) on the same day. Their brother, Thomas Denton, Chief Officer of the *Phoenix* Indiaman, married Mercy Evans (also at St. John's Church) on October 22, 1786.

(82) *George Nesbitt Thompson*—admitted as an Advocate of the Supreme Court at Fort William on July 13, 1779. Private Secretary to Warren Hastings in 1783. Senior Counsel to the Company in 1786 (Thomas Henry Davies, the "Counsellor Feeble" of Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* being Advocate-General). Returned to England in 1790. His letters to Hastings have been printed *in extenso* in *Bengal: Past and Present*. Married on July 30, 1791, at Marylebone Parish Church Catherine Mary (Powney) the widow of Henry Vansittart: See note (24) and *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 213. Their son George Powney Thompson

(writer 1815) became Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut at Agra and died there on November 11, 1849. He married Harriot Fendall (who died on February 17, 1875 at the age of 82) daughter of John Fendall, member of the Supreme Council (who died at Calcutta on November 10, 1825) and was the father of Maria Sophia who married Sir Richmond Shakespear (who died at Indore in 1861), and Sir Augustus Rivers Thompson (1829-1890), Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1882 to 1887, whose portrait may be seen in the Calcutta Town Hall. Two other sons of George Nesbitt Thompson, Christopher Anstey and Edward Penton, became members of the Madras Civil Service. The former (writer 1816) died at Fort Saint George on June 11, 1831, and the latter (writer 1822) retired on annuity in 1852 and died in London in 1890. Charlotte Thompson, another of the daughters married Sir John Hadley D'Oyly (the second of that name and eighth baronet) who was in the Bengal Civil Service from 1812 to 1843. Mary Fendall, the sister of Harriot Fendall, who was born at Midnapore in 1794, married Sir John D'Oyly as his second wife in 1819, and was the mother of the ninth and tenth baronets.

(83) *John Moffatt*.—Died in Calcutta in 1791, at the age of 56 years. An inscription upon his grave in the South Park Street Cemetery records that "this humble stone is erected by William Moffat, son of the above named James Moffat, who commanded the *Phoenix* at this port in the year 1800". The "abovenamed James Moffat", who was John's brother, died in Calcutta on October 31, 1788, at the age of 55, and is buried close by. Both James and John were, like William, in the Marine Service of the Company. James was a Surgeon. His first voyage was in the *Walpole* (499 tons) which was taken by the French off Ceylon on September 20, 1762, when on her way to "the Coast and Bay": Thereafter he was Surgeon on the *Essex* (499 tons) for two voyages: China, 1764-66: Madras and Bombay, 1768-69: the *Shrewsbury* (499 tons) also two voyages, Bombay 1771-1773: Coast and Bay, 1776-77: the *Dutton* (676 tons) Coast and Bay, 1774-75, the *Earl of Oxford* (758 tons) Coast and China, 1779-1781: the *Francis* (775 tons) Coast and Bay, 1782-1784: and the *Ganges* (758 tons) Coast and Bay, 1786-87. He made his last voyage in the *Phoenix* (800 tons) which sailed from the Downs for Bengal on February 17, 1788, and died after his arrival at Calcutta. John Moffat's sea record is as follows. 3rd Officer, *Asia* (499 tons: Bombay, 1764-1767); 2nd Officer, *Devonshire* (499 tons: Coast and China, 1769-1771); 1st Officer, *Hector* (499 tons: Bombay, 1772-1773). William Moffat was sworn in as Commander on October 31, 1799 and commanded in succession the *Phoenix* (800 tons: Bengal and Bombay, 1800-1802); the *Ganges* (1200 tons: China, 1803-1804); the *Winchester* (1200 tons Bombay, Madras and China, 1806-15) and the *Scaleby Castle* (1242 tons: China, 1816-1817).

(84) *Maria Eliza Bristow*: died on December 17, 1788, aged seven months. For some account of her parents, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 150 and Vol. XXVI, pp. 161, 162. John Bristow was member of the Board of Trade in 1788 and President from 1797 to 1800.

He attended the foundation meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in January 1784.

(85) *Richard Roche*—writer 1777: succeeded Tilghman Henckell as Judge and Magistrate of Jessore in 1789, and carried out the Permanent Settlement in that district: Judge and Magistrate of Nadia, 1794: Judge of the Court of Appeal at Moorshedabad, 1796; still in the service in 1804. Transferred the headquarters of the Jessore District in 1790 to Kasba, the modern town of Jessore, from Murali, two miles away. The place was described in 1800 as "all jungle trees and bamboos," and its bazars as "covered with unhealthy vegetation."

(86) *Thomas William Clayton*—cadet, 1771: married Emma Maria Jenkins on November 10, 1787. Lieut.-Col. 1798: in command at Bencoolen: died September 22, 1804, aged 50 years. An inscription at Barrackpore records that "he saved the forfeited lives of three hundred men at the assault of the Burrahbutty Fort, Cuttack, A. D. 1803."

ADDENDUM TO BAPTISMS, 1783-1785.

(*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 194)

May 5, 1783: Kenneth Archd. John, son of Mr. Kenneth Murchison, Surgn., H. C.'s service.

The father, *Kenneth Murchison*, is the "Dr. Murchison" of whom mention is made in the first volume of William Hickey's *Memoirs* (pp. 291-292). While he was Surgeon at Lucknow, a dispute "at a convivial dinner where the whole party committed a debauch," arose between him and Captain Croftes, the scapegrace brother of Charles Croftes (as to whom see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 203-204). The inevitable challenge followed, and Murchison shot the other dead. We get another glimpse of him in Dr. Busteed's *Echoes* (pp. 77-78) where it is related that he was deputed by the Judges to visit Nuncomar in jail. After serving in India for seventeen years Murchison returned to Scotland and purchased the estate of Tarradale in Ross-shire. He married the daughter of Roderick Mackenzie of Fairburn in 1791 and died in 1796. His son Sir Roderick Impey Murchison (1792-1871) bequeathed a portrait of Impey by Zoffany to the National Portrait Gallery.

J. J. C.

The Armenian Church at Saidabad.

THE Armenian Church at Saidabad near Cossimbazar, with its three verandahs, the surrounding walls, and a parsonage (which has long disappeared) was built in 1758, at a cost of Rs. 2,36,000, by Aga Petrus Arathoon and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in memory of his parents, Arathoon and Hosaima, his wife Dastagool, his brothers Aga Gregory (known to history as Gurgin Khan, the famous general of Mir Qasim Ali Khan), and Barsegh (the "Parseek Arathoon" of Bolts' *Considerations*), and "all blood relations, whether alive or dead". These facts are duly chronicled in ancient or classical Armenian on a large mural commemorative tablet of brass which was formerly affixed to the northern interior wall of the Church, and is now in the sacristy.

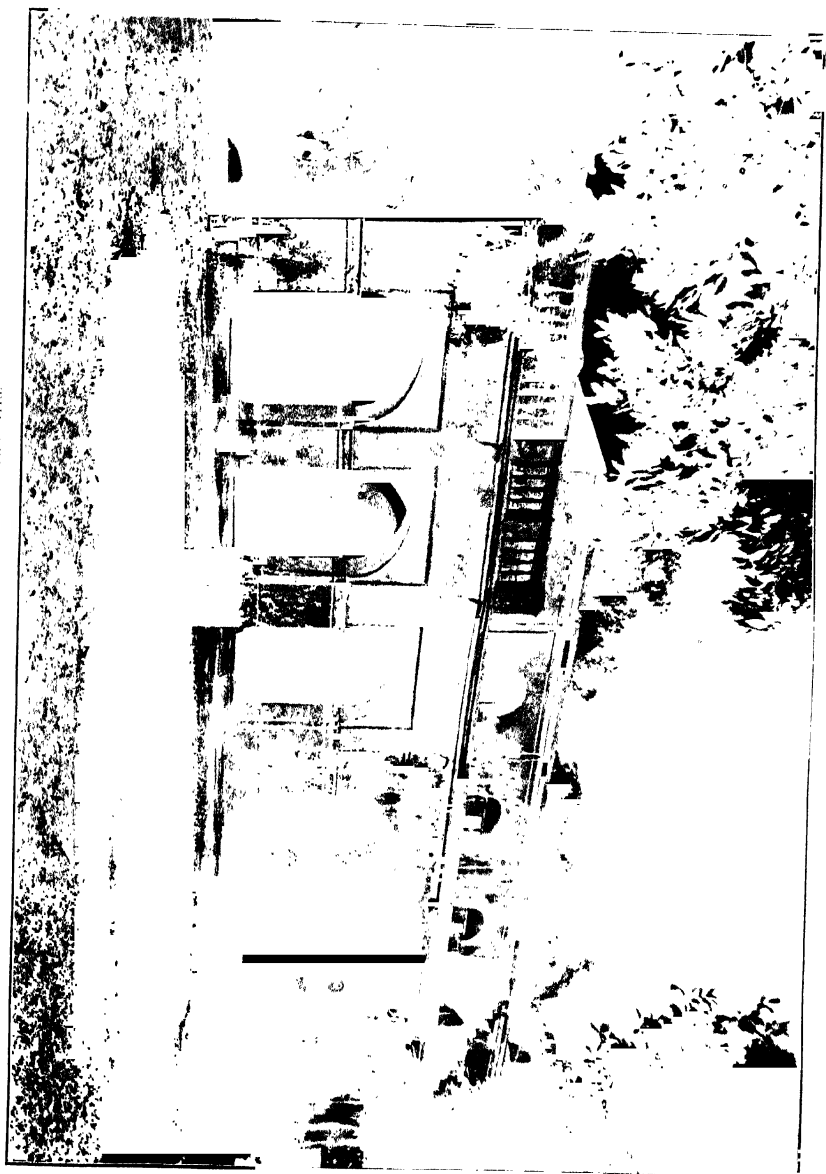
Aga Petrus, or "the Armenian Petrus," as Orme calls him, was the friend and confidant of Clive, Vansittart, and Hastings, and played an important part in the negotiations which led, first to the overthrow of Suraj-ud-daula, and later to the deposition of Mir Jaffir. It was he who supplied the fugitives at Fulta with provisions during the six months which preceded the arrival of the army of retribution. The treatment which he received in return for these services reflected no credit on those whom he had assisted and who did not hesitate to stigmatize him as a "spy". He died in Calcutta on August 29, 1778, at the age of 53, and lies buried in the Church of Nazareth by the side of his wife Dastagool who survived him until 1805. The inscription on his tomb, which is in classical Armenian, may thus be translated:

The eminent princely Chief, Aga Petrus Arathoon, of Erivan near Julfa, Ispahan, of the family of Abraham, was a lustrous hyacinthine crown of the entire Armenian nation. He acquired a great fame amongst all people to the glory of his nation. He worked assiduously and expended lavishly. His generosity towards destitute orphans and widows was without parallel. By his munificent gifts he erected handsome and well-embellished Churches. He departed this life in the hope of salvation at the age of fifty-three, and was placed in this tomb with pomp, in the Year of Our Lord 1778, the 29th of August, corresponding with the year 163 of the era of Azariah and the 12th of the month of Nadar.

The altar on the right of the main sanctuary of the Church of Nazareth is dedicated to St. Gregory the Illuminator, and is in memory of Gurgin Khan. That on the north, or left, is dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul and is in memory of Aga Petrus himself, who was the donor of both altars in 1763 (1).

MESROVB J. SETH.

(1) An account of the murder of Gurgin Khan and a note by Mr. Seth on the Church of Nazareth in Calcutta will be found in the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present*.



THE ARMENTAN CHIRIGHI AT SADAYABAD
From a Photograph by the Rev. W. R. F. 1900-1901

Mrs. Fay's Letters.

IN these days of burrowings and borrowings, it seems more than a little odd that Mrs. Fay's Letters should have been allowed to languish so long without an editor. Yet, with the single exception of the Calcutta Historical-Society's reprint of 1908 edited by Archdeacon Firminger (who took unpardonable liberties with his text), they have not been reprinted since the original Calcutta editions of 1817 and 1821 which, for all intents and purposes, are unprocurable. Mr. Forster's present edition (1) is actually the first to be published outside India.

This neglect is the less explainable since Mrs. Fay was that rare thing, a first-rate letter-writer. Her grammar was her own, her mental equipment that of a lady's maid, but her letters are remarkable and their human interest absorbing. Her age produced many greater letters, but none that so faithfully reflect the character of their author. As Mr. Forster puts it, "Eliza Fay is a work of art."

Of her life and origin we know strangely little, outside what she tells us. We do not know her maiden name; we know nothing of her parents. It would seem that a sister married a Mr. Thomas W. Preston. Eliza herself was the wife of Anthony Fay, the only son of "Francis Fay, gentleman, late of Rotherhithe, Surrey." In 1780, Anthony Fay was admitted an Advocate at the Supreme Court of Calcutta. He was a bit of a fool, an Irishman, who ran into debt, produced an illegitimate child, and was underbred and quarrelsome. He deserted his wife and went back to England, and we hear no more of him. She, on her side, was neither rich nor well-educated, nor well-mannered, nor good-tempered, nor beautiful, nor improper. But she had malice, sense of humour, power of description, a sense of little things. So she wrote letters home to England, wrong in grammar, wrong in punctuation, but every word she wrote is personal. "Not a sentence is dead," is Mr. Forster's truthful verdict. She reveals herself, Eliza. Though the letters have value historically, their abiding interest is human.

There is no mention of the Fays in Hickey's Memoirs, and that despite the fact that their connections were, like his, with legal circles. The bare facts of Mrs. Fay's career, as narrated in the letters, are difficult to amplify. In 1779 she was twenty three and recently married; in 1780 she and her husband landed in Calcutta; in 1782 she was back, alone, in England. In 1784 she made her second voyage to Calcutta, set up as a mantua-maker, was bankrupt by 1788, and at the close of 1794 was again in England. In

(1) *Original Letters from India (1779-1815)*. By Mrs. Eliza Fay. Edited with Introductory and Terminal Notes by E. M. Forster. (London: The Hogarth Press, pp. 288: Fifteen Shillings net).

1796 she made her third voyage to Calcutta, but departed very shortly for New York which she reached in 1797. There the story ends; the later letters (of 1815) are reminiscences of the earlier years. But we know from other sources that she again revisited Calcutta, for she died there on September 9, 1816, aged sixty years. She left no will; her estate was administered by the Registrar of the Supreme Court. Tulloh, the auctioneer, sold her effects. She was buried in no one knows which of the Calcutta cemeteries.

A handful of dates, a rather sordid story of struggle against circumstances. Happily, we have the letters, published by her administrator "from a view of benefiting the estate." The Library of the India Office possesses a copy of the original (1817) Edition. Mr. Forster has been unable to trace another copy in England

The first fourteen of the letters describe the journey out to India. The ride across France, the adventures in Egypt, are admirably told. At last she reaches Calicut: to be at once imprisoned by Hyder Ali's governor, Sirdar Khan, together with her fellow passengers who included a Mr. Tulloh, presumably the Calcutta auctioneer, who is supposed to figure as Judas in Zoffany's "Last Supper," and his good lady. The letter recounting the imprisonment is of astonishing length, and fully as astonishing in its blend of passion, humour, venom, and intensity. One would like to know whom Tulloh married. If Mrs. Fay may be believed, his wife "was one of the very lowest creatures taken off the streets in London." It was a "common expression" of this "creature": "Lord bless you, if I did such or such a thing, Tulloh would make no more to do, but knock me down like an ox." Mrs. Fay, as was to be expected, "entertained some suspicions of her from the first."

From November 1779 to February 1780, the ship's party remained in the hands of Sirdar Khan. The earliest letter from Calcutta is dated May 22, 1780. Hastings has been called on, Sir Elijah Impey has been flattering, Lady Chambers is "lending some of her dresses for mine to be made by." The little character sketches are apt to be malicious: Eliza Fay could be uncommonly malicious. But she is vastly more entertaining than her sprightly rival in letter-writing, Sophia Goldborne. "I want to make you see them," she says of her enemies and friends, and we see them. It is not her fault if she is more interested in the price of mutton and the shapes of hats than in the historical events which were taking place around her.

Mrs. Fay's letters are not a quarry like Hickey's Memoirs; one does not dig deep into them in the hope of unearthing scraps of information about the obscure or the illustrious. They cannot be said to throw new light upon the ways and customs of our ancestors. The antiquarian, the historian, may find them disappointing. But to the student of human nature, to the lover of good letters, they furnish an unfailing mine of entertainment.

What could we ask for better than the following as an illustration of the "airs" of Mrs. Hastings?

Mrs. Hastings was of the party; she came in late and happened to place herself on the opposite side of the room, beyond a speaking distance, so, strange to tell, I quite forgot she was there! After some time had elapsed, my observant friend, Mrs. Jackson, who had been impatiently watching my looks, asked if I had paid my respects to the Lady Governess? I answered in the negative, having had no opportunity as she had not chanced to look towards me when I was prepared to do so. "Oh", replied the kind old lady, "you must fix your eyes on her, and never take them off till she notices you; Miss Chantry has done this and so have I; it is absolutely necessary to avoid giving offence". I followed her prudent advice, and was soon honoured with a complacent glance which I returned as became me by a most respectful bend.

It is possible to imagine something of the mingled dignity and impudence of that "respectful bend" by a glance at the frontispiece: a fantastic portrait of Mrs. Fay in Egyptian (not Indian) costume, reproduced from the 1817 Edition. The engraving is "by T. Alais"; Mr. Forster has not succeeded in tracing the original drawing. But the artist is A. W. Devis, and this raises an interesting problem. The Egyptian costume corresponds precisely with her account of what she wore in Cairo in 1779, yet, if the portrait was made shortly after her arrival in Calcutta, Devis cannot have been more than eighteen years of age, and there is indeed no evidence that at so early a date he had gone east. Why Mrs. Fay should have retained her Egyptian clothing to any later period is inexplicable, and, although Devis was in Calcutta in 1784, Mrs. Fay by then had parted from her husband, had visited and returned from England, and had embarked definitely upon a career of vicissitudes quite sufficient in themselves to expel from her thoughts any enthusiasm for Egypt or for things Egyptian even if she had at one time (which is doubtful) harboured such enthusiasm.

However, there the portrait stands by way of frontispiece, and a very characteristic portrait, for all the puzzle of its origin. Mr. Forster discusses it, as he discusses most things connected with Eliza, in his extremely illuminating, if oddly jerky, introduction. And he has added to the book some fourteen pages of "Terminal Notes", useful little notes of dates and facts and history which might very easily have been quadrupled. Mr. Forster was wise, perhaps, not to quadruple them. Mrs. Fay is worth reading for her own sake. Her millinery shop, bye the bye, abutted, as Archdeacon Firminger discovered, on to the graveyard of St. John's Church. The vestry erected a wall, depriving her of light and air. She wrote, complaining. Possibly, we too might have complained if Mr. Forster had shut us off from Mrs. Fay by too great a quantity of notes, whether terminal or otherwise.

ALBERT LOUIS COTTON.

The Editor's Note Book.

THE task of preparing an Index to Volumes IX to XXX of *Bengal: Past and Present* has proved to be more formidable than we anticipated. Half the work, however, has now been completed: and the Index to Volumes IX to XVIII, consisting of some 15,000 headings, has gone to Press. It is intended to print this portion first and to publish a separate volume dealing with the remainder. We have already acknowledged the receipt of contributions towards our Index Fund amounting to Rs. 1,000: but this sum will not suffice to cover the cost, and we venture to appeal most earnestly for a further display of generosity from members of the Society. Raja Janakinath Roy of Bhagyakul, to whom our best thanks are due, has sent a munificent donation of Rs. 500: but we are in need of at least another Rs. 500. Subscriptions should be marked "Index Fund" and sent to Mr. A. N. Nicholson, the Treasurer of the Society, at the Mercantile Bank of India, Clive Street, Calcutta.

MOST people know, or ought to know, that Dr. Samuel Johnson never said, "Sir, let us walk in Fleet Street." The phrase was an invention of George Augustus Sala. But there was a time when Johnson very nearly gave himself the chance of saying "Sir, let us walk in the Respondentia." For there is a passage in Boswell, which indicates that the Doctor did entertain the thought of coming out to India. Boswell is reproducing a remark made by Johnson in 1776, when he was sixty-seven years of age:

I lately received a letter from the East Indies from a gentleman I formerly knew very well: he had returned from that country with a handsome fortune as it was reckoned, before means were found to acquire these immense sums which have been brought from thence of late: he was a scholar and an agreeable man and lived very prettily in London until his wife died. One evening he lost £1,000 to a gentleman whose name I am sorry I have forgotten. Next morning he sent the gentleman £500 with an apology that it was all he had in the world. The gentleman sent the money back to him declaring that he would not accept of it: and adding that if he (Mr. Fowke) had occasion for £500 more, he would send it him. Mr. Fowke resolved to go out again to the East Indies and make his fortune anew. He got a considerable appointment, and I had some intention of joining him. Had I thought then, as I do now, I should have gone: but at that time I had objections to quitting England.

JOSEPH FOWKE, with whom Dr. Johnson might have foregathered in Joseph Fowke. Calcutta, went to India as a writer in 1746 and in 1751 was fifth member of Council at Fort Saint George. He returned to England in 1752 but came out to Calcutta in 1770 as a free merchant. In July 1775 he obtained permission to reside at Benares, and in April 1779 he and his son Francis were authorized to reside at Chinsurah "until their employment." On February 17, 1780, he was appointed on a monthly salary of sicca Rs. 1,500 to compile a code of all the proceedings and orders of the Court of Directors. The appointment was abolished with effect from March 31, 1783; and on November 19, 1787, we find him asking for permission to enter into the usual covenants, "in order that he may continue his trade in diamonds which he has pursued for the last forty years." In the following month (December 4, 1787) he applied for a passage to England in the *Princess Royal*: but he does not appear to have actually left Calcutta until 1790. He and his son Francis were with Nuncoomar indicted for conspiracy against Hastings and found guilty. Burke forced a vote in the House of Commons to grant him a pension. He died at Bath in 1806, at the age of 80. Francis Fowke as Secretary to the Council attended the famous meeting in June, 1777, when Clavering took the oath in supersession of Hastings.

WE have already recorded the fact (*Bengal Past and Present* Vol. XXVIII, Calcutta and p. 18) that a son of Mrs. Siddons was a member of Garrick. The Bengal Civil Service from 1803 to 1838. The following extract from *The Times* of October 26, 1916, for which we are indebted to Mr. J. J. Cotton, I. C. S., will show a link between Calcutta and David Garrick:

A gift of considerable historic interest has recently been received at the Victoria and Albert Museum in the shape of David Garrick's bed, which has been presented by Mr. H. E. Trevor, a direct descendant of Garrick's brother George. The bedstead was made about 1775 for Garrick's villa at Hampton where it remained after Garrick's death in 1779 and during Mrs. Garrick's lifetime and subsequently until the sale of the villa in 1864. It consists of a wooden canopy with columns decorated with ornaments characteristic of the period, the original green and yellow paint being well preserved. The hangings of cotton, painted in colours with designs of the "Tree of Life," were made in a factory of the East India Company at Masulipatam and were presented to Garrick by some of the merchants of Calcutta.

William Hickey arrived in Calcutta for the first time in November 1777: which is no doubt the reason why he makes no mention of the incident.

SOME difficulty seems to have arisen with the Customs over the bed: for the Customs and the Gift. *the Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1802 (p. 100) prints an entertaining letter "said to have been written by Mr. Garrick to the Commissioners of Customs":

Not even Rachael weeping for her children could show more sorrow than Mrs. Garrick; not weeping for her Children, she has none; nor for her husband; thanks to be to the humour of the times, she can be as philosophic on that subject as her betters. What does she weep for, then? Shall I dare tell you? It is for the loss of a Chintz Bed and Curtains. The tale is short and is as follows. I had taken some trouble to oblige the Gentlemen of Calcutta by sending them Plays, Scenes, &c. and rendering them other services in my way: in return they sent me Madeira and poor Rachael the unfortunate Chintz. She had it four years and upon making some alteration in my little place at Hampton she intended a way with her prohibited present. She had prepared Paper, Chairs, &c. for this favourite token of Indian gratitude, but alas! all human felicity is frail! No care having been taken, and some treachery being exerted against her, it was seized, "the Very Bed, by the coarse hands of filthy dungeon villains, and thrown amongst the common lumber." If you have the least pity for a distressed Female, any regard for her Husband (for he has a sad time of it) you may put your thumb and finger to the business, and take the thorn out of Rachael's side.

The real name of "Rachael" was Eva Marie Violetti. She was the reputed daughter of Veigel, a Viennese, and Garrick married her on June 14, 1749, he being then 32 years of age, and she seven years his junior. The "little place at Hampton" was purchased in 1754. Garrick died in 1779 (as we have mentioned) but his wife survived him until 1822, when she died at the age of 98, and was buried beside him in Westminster Abbey at the foot of Shakespeare's statue.

It is amusing to find Warren Hastings making mention of the same difficulty with the Customs, in connection with Munny Begum's present of ivory furniture to his wife. In a letter from London of May 20, 1786, to George Nesbitt Thompson, Mrs. Hastings' Ivory Chairs, he writes:

Mrs. Hastings desires me to inform you that the Begum's ivory chairs are of *very great value*, not of little as you seem to estimate them. She requests that you will present her respects to the Begum (and mine, pray), and desire that she will not order any velvet or other worked seat to the chairs, as this will make the whole seizable by the Custom House Office. She also begs that they may be sent by a ship that will swim.

ANOTHER historic bed may be seen near Calcutta. The large four-poster used by Dupleix is still preserved in the official residence of the Administrateur at Chandernagore.



WARREN HASTINGS:
From the Engraving by Edward Finden
of the Portrait by Ozias Humphry, R.A.

DR. BUSTEED, in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* (fourth edition, p. 183) makes mention of "The Oriental Magazine or Calcutta Amusement," a monthly paper, in the first number of which (April 6, 1785) "is given an elegant engraving of the late Governor-General," Warren Hastings. Can any member of the Society say where a copy of this Magazine may be seen? Search has been made without success in the British Museum and the India Office Library, and as far as Calcutta is concerned, in the Imperial Library, Archbishop Goethals' Library, and the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Is the portrait of Hastings which is reproduced on the opposite page, identical with the "elegant engraving"? It was published in 1910 in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. V, p. 373) but no clue to its identification is there given, beyond the wholly unhelpful statement that it "appeared in a work written many years ago." There is however, a copy of the print in the Victoria Memorial Hall, which bears an inscription to the effect that it is taken from an engraving by Edward Finden of a portrait by Ozias Humphry, R. A. Further enquiry has shown that the print was used as an illustration to a volume entitled "Johnsoniana, or a Supplement to Boswell", which was published in 1836.

AN interesting picture was offered for sale in June last at Willis's Rooms as the work of Zoffany. Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., sends us the extract from the sale catalogue which is as follows:

A Reputed
Zoffany.

The Property of a Lady.
J. Zoffany, R. A.

General William Palmer and his Family. In the centre General Palmer seated leaning towards his wife Beebee Izg (sic) Begum, a Princess of the Royal House of Delhi, (sic), who is nursing their youngest son Hastings. On her left is William the eldest son, and to the right is their little daughter Mary. On the right of the General is the Begum's sister and behind her a lady-in-waiting. The two other figures are Indian women attendants: landscape background. Canvas 40 inches by 50 inches. Painted during Zoffany's visit to India. General Palmer in his younger days was confidential Secretary to Warren Hastings, and subsequently became Resident at Gwalior from 1791 to 1794 (sic). He died in 1816 (sic) and the Begum in 1828.

There are several errors in this description. The Begum was a member of the Oudh family, and Palmer, who had been Military Secretary to Hastings, no doubt met her when he went to Lucknow as Resident in 1782. He left Gwalior in 1798, and not in 1794, and was Resident at the Peshwa's Court at Poona from 1798 to 1801. Subsequently he commanded at Monghyr and at Berhampore, and died at the latter place in 1814 (not

1816). William, who was born in 1782 in Calcutta and died in 1867, founded in 1814 the great banking house of Palmer and Co., at Hyderabad in which the Rumbolds were partners, and which involved the Marquess of Hastings in its ruin in 1823. His daughter married Colonel Meadows Taylor, the author of "Confessions of a Thug." He was not in point of age the General's eldest son: for his brother John, the "Prince of Merchants," was born in 1767, the year after his father entered the Bengal Army from the King's service. Hastings Palmer was baptized in Calcutta in 1785 and died in 1860 at Hyderabad. He is buried in the Residency Cemetery.

WITH regard to the picture, which was withdrawn at 10½ guineas, there is some reason for doubting whether it is the work of Zoffany. Differing Views. It has been heavily, but not unskilfully, restored: and from what remains of the original painting, it would seem (in the opinion of at least one expert) that the artist is much more likely to have been Devis. Sir William Foster, however, takes the view that it may be ascribed to Zoffany, and such is the family tradition. The probable date, judging from the year of Hastings Palmer's baptism, he would fix at 1786 or 1787. This would fit in both with Zoffany and with Devis: but it was not the habit of Devis to paint such portrait groups. Only the faces and in the case of the General and the Begum, the upper parts of the body, are finished: the rest is a mere sketch.

OUR readers will recollect the "Chinaman's Petition" which formed part of Mr. Ramsbotham's second selection from the Records of the Government of India and was printed in our last issue (Vol. XXIX, p. 211). Atchew or Tong Atchew, the petitioner, has given his name to Atchipore, a village on the riverbank six miles below Budge-Budge. It was here that he received his grant of land from Warren Hastings, and here that he established a sugar manufactory. The story goes that he was the first to introduce Chinese tea into India. In a memorial submitted in 1781, Atchew refers to the land which he had cultivated with some success, and complains that the Chinese labourers who were bound to him under indenture for a term of years, were constantly being enticed away by Chinese deserters from the ships in Calcutta. A notice was thereupon issued by the Governor-General in Council declaring that Atchew was under the protection of Government, and that the Board desired to give every encouragement to the Chinese Colony under his direction and were determined to afford him every support and assistance in detecting and punishing all ill-disposed persons. Atchew appears to have died shortly afterwards, for there is a letter in the Records, dated December 8, 1783, from the Company's Attorney in which he states that he has applied to the executor of Atchew for payment of money due under a bond. On November 15, 1804, we find an advertisement offering for sale "the estate of Atcheepore situated about six miles below Budge-Budge, with all the buildings, stills, sugar mills, and other

fixtures." The property was said to consist of 650 bighas, held under a *pottah* (lease) from the Burdwan Raj and paying an annual rent of Rs. 45. The horse-shoe shaped tomb of Atchew may still be seen in the village; and also a Chinese temple, situated about a mile from the river bank, to which a yearly pilgrimage is made by the Chinese community in Calcutta. A jungle-path leads to a ruined and abandoned bungalow which was once occupied by the Collector of the Twenty-four Parganas: and traces of Chinese marble are still visible on some of the floors.

FOR close upon a century and a half the Greek community of Calcutta has worshipped in the historic old church in Amratollah, hard by the busy thoroughfare once known as Murghihattha and now dignified with the name of Canning Street. Henceforward the "Orthodox Brotherhood of Greeks in Calcutta" must assemble in a new building in Russa Road, Bhowanipore. The Calcutta Improvement Trust has laid hands upon the old church, and it has been demolished. It owed its foundation to Hadjee Alexias Argyree, a native of Philippopolis, who first found his way to Bengal in 1750. In 1770 Argyree sailed as interpreter to Captain Cudbert Thornhill (a famous Calcutta character who was afterwards master attendant from 1785 to 1808) on a voyage to Mocha and Jeddah. The ship almost foundered in a storm: and Argyree, in memory of his preservation, obtained permission on his return to build a Greek Church in Calcutta. The purchase of the ground and the erection of the building cost Rs. 30,000, and among the subscribers to the fund was Warren Hastings who gave Rs. 2,000. The Church was consecrated on August 6, 1781, and the first minister was Father Constantine Parthenio, a native of Corfu, who came out to Calcutta in 1775, and is said to have sat for the figure of the Saviour in the picture of the Last Supper which Zoffany painted for St. John's Church.

CARICATURES of Cudbert Thornhill and Father Parthenio will be found in a coloured print published in November, 1792. The "Bengal Levee" of Lord Cornwallis, by James Gillray and based on a drawing "made on the spot by an amateur." This represents Lord Cornwallis holding a reception in the assembly room at the Old Court House, on the walls of which are hanging four of Thomas Daniell's Views of Calcutta. In the *Works of James Gillray*, by Thomas Wright (p. 163), it is stated that the amateur artist "is conjectured to have been General Stevenson," and that "each of these portraits, over fifty in number, represent the characteristic traits of different persons of note engaged in the public services of the Presidency." Eight individuals only are identified by name in Gillray's print: Col. [A] Ross, (the Military Secretary), Mr. [John] Wilton, Col. [S] Auchmuty, Mr. [W.C.] Blaquiére, Mr. Ginetti [? Tiretta], Sir John Shore, Mr. [J.] Miller, and the Governor-General. A reproduction was published in Calcutta by H. M. Smith in December, 1843, and the following list of names was supplied: Lord Corn-

wallis, Col. [A] Ross, Col. [J] Fullarton, Col. [S] Auchmuty, John Haldane [Claud] Benizett (Sub-Treasurer), Robert MacFarlane (Clerk of the Market), J. Miller (Deputy of Police), [William] Pye (Collector of the Twenty-four Parganas), George Williamson (Vendu Master), Gilbert Hall (Coroner), the Rev. Thomas Blanshard, [Edward] Tiretta (of the Bazar), [Abraham] Caldicott, King Collins, Cudbert Thornhill, and Father Parthenio. Copies of the original print and the reproduction are on exhibition at the Victoria Memorial Hall. Lord Curzon has given an illustration in his book (Vol. I. p. 240).

RAO BAHADUR S. V. CHARI reports the discovery, among the papers of the late Baboo Shambhu Chunder Mookerjee, of an opinion given on April 30, 1836, by Mr. Longueville Loftus Clarke, the founder of the Calcutta Bar Library which celebrated its hundredth birthday on June 15 last. Clarke was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal on January 15, 1823, and died as recently as 1863. He lived in a house on the Esplanade, immediately to the west of the Supreme Court building: and was one of the leading figures in the public and social life of the Calcutta of his day.

THE opinion relates to a question of succession and adoption under the Hindu Law: and counsel of to-day will be interested to learn that the backsheet of the brief, which bears the name of Messrs. Waddington and Wilson, Solicitors, shows that the fee offered and accepted—was the modest sum of three gold mohurs. For the benefit of the general reader, we may add that this amount represents Rs. 51, for the barrister's gold mohur is valued at Rs. 17 and not Rs. 16. When sicca rupees ceased to be legal tender, the Calcutta Bar resolved at a meeting held on September 1, 1835 that "In consequence of the change of currency, the fees of the Bar shall continue to be paid in the gold mohur or its equivalent in the new currency."

THE following announcement is made in Alexander's "East India Magazine" for 1836 (Vol. XII, p. 175). It is of interest as showing the original location of Spence's Hotel which is now situated, as we need hardly say, in Wellesley Place:

Spence's Hotel
and Loudon Build-
ings.

Coffee-House.—Notice has been taken in the public prints of a scheme of Mr. Wetherill to open a Coffee-house in Calcutta. The plan is to connect with Spence's Hotel an establishment similar to that of the Jerusalem Coffee-house in London, where all kinds of shipping intelligence will be procurable, and letter bags will be made up, and those who want refreshments may have them at a moment's notice. The idea is good, and we are glad to find the scheme strongly supported by the mercantile community. The resort to the hotel is now so great, that, we hear, the premises originally taken by Mr. Spence, have been found too small, and in

consequence Mr. Wetherill is about to remove the establishment to Loudon buildings, and it is in that range of buildings that the Coffee-rooms are to be opened.

The block known as Loudon Buildings covered the present site of the Treasury and the old Government of India Secretariat in Government Place West. The exact situation (Mr. S. Kumar of the Imperial Library informs us) is given in Mendes' Directory as "South of St. John's Cathedral, Hastings Street." The buildings were known colloquially as *Trotter-ka-bareek*, Spence's Hotel and his coffee-house were located there in 1840: and also the premises of R. Scott Thomson and Company, the chemists.

READERS of the Arabian Nights may remember that some account is given there of a form of punishment in use among Mahomedans, and known as *Tashhir*, or public exposure. It will come as a surprise to many to learn that, as recently as 1837, the punishment was inflicted by the British Courts in India. The fact is placed beyond doubt by the following extract which we take from another volume of Alexander's "East India Magazine" (Vol. XV, Jan—June 1838, pp. 389—390):—

The Mahomedan
Punishment of
Tusheer.

The two unfortunate culprits who were convicted of the crime of perjury at the court of the Commissioner of Circuit for the division of Aylpoo, on the 22nd Sept. 1837, and with the concurrence of the Mahomedan law officer of the zillah, sentenced to four years' imprisonment with labor each, and to undergo the punishment of tusheer, underwent that punishment on Saturday, the 23rd inst. at mid-day. *Imprimis*, they had one side of their heads, whiskers, mustachios and beards shaved; they were then clothed in *kuffnees* made of sackcloth, and their heads were decorated with fantastically painted paper foolscaps, in lieu of turbans, and garlands of stringed shoes were suspended from their necks in the place of their beadstrings; their faces were daubed on one side with blacking and on the other with chunam. They were then taken out of the Aylpoo jail and mounted on jackasses in lieu of steeds, with their faces towards the tails of the patient animals, whilst two sweepers, who acted as squires to the knights errant, every now and then flourished immense cocoa-nut shred brooms over those worthies, and a common crier preceded them, with a tom-tom, beating on it the "Rogues March," and detailing to the numerous spectators the exploits of these two noble characters, which had been the cause of this procession and tumasha. The males alternately hissed or applauded, as their whim directed them, and the females smiled and giggled. This procession commenced its perambulation from the Aylpoo jail, went over Aylpoo bridge toward Kidderpoo, and thence over Kidderpoo bridge, through Kidderpoo to the Aylpoo court and thence back again to the Aylpoo jail.

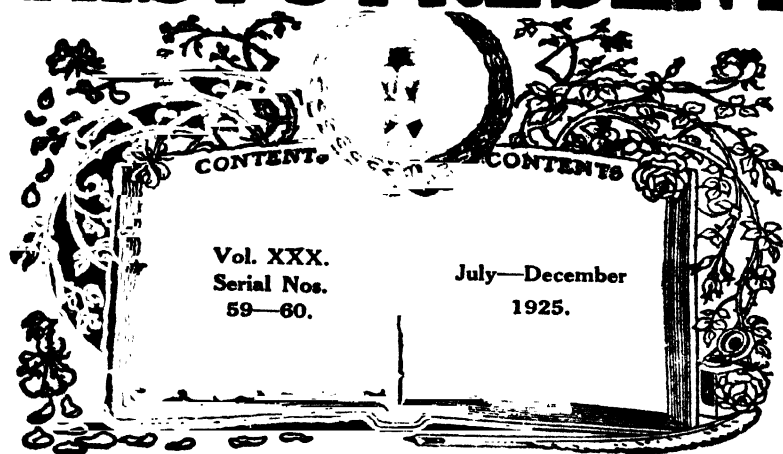
It was numerously attended. When the party arrived opposite the Alypoor jail, these notables were dismounted, stripped of their paraphernalia, washed and ushered into the jail to undergo the other portion of their sentence, and the tumasha being over, the spectators retired pleased with the ludicrous spectacle.

EVERY student of the history of Old Calcutta has learned to appreciate the value of the *olla podrida* served up in the pages of "The Good Old Days of John Company." We are indebted to Mrs. Draycott of Simla for the information that the book which was originally published in two volumes in 1882, was written at Simla. The third volume which is very scarce, appeared in 1887. The author, Mr. W. H. Carey, who was a grandson of Dr. William Carey of Serampore fame, and the grandfather of Mrs. Draycott, was at the time proprietor and editor of the *Simla Argus*. In 1870 he brought out a Guide to Simla. He subsequently went to England and died at Teddington on November 28, 1889.

IN the third volume of Midnapore District Records which has just been issued from the Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt (Rs. 18), the letters are collated which were received by the Resident and Collector from the year 1771 to the year 1774. The letters issued during the same period will be published in due course. On the cession of Midnapore (together with Burdwan and Chittagong) to the Company by Mir Kasim in 1760, Balasore ceased to be the headquarters in that region and a commercial factory was established in the town of Midnapore. Edward Baber and Samuel Lewis filled the office of Resident during the three years covered by this volume, and from April 1773 we find them addressed as "Resident and Collector": but not for long, for in the same year Midnapore was placed under the Provincial Council of Revenue at Burdwan. A variety of subjects are discussed in the letters. Military measures had to be undertaken against the zemindars of the western or "jungle" tracts who refused to pay revenue: both the "chuars" and the wandering gangs of Sannyasis and Fakirs gave trouble: and proposals for farming the district were called for in 1772. The transcription appears to have been carefully done, and an useful introduction is provided by Baboo Suresh Chandra Roy, the officiating Keeper of the Bengal Records. An index is also given to the two earlier volumes, which contained letters received and issued from 1763 to 1770.



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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WARREN HASTINGS,
FROM THE PICTURE BY A. W. DEVIS;
NOW AT VICEREGAL LODGE, DELHI.

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A Famous Portrait of Warren Hastings.

THERE is a well-known passage in Macaulay's Essay on Warren Hastings, in which he describes the appearance of that famous man as he advanced to the bar in Westminster Hall to hear the charges formulated against him by the managers of the impeachment:

He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect, a high and intellectual forehead, a brow pensive, but not gloomy, a mouth of inflexible decision, a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the picture in the council-chamber at Calcutta, *Mens aequa in arduis*: Such was the aspect with which the great consul presented himself to his judges.

A picture bearing the legend still hangs in the Town Hall in the temporary meeting-place of the Bengal Legislative Council: but it is not the original. That must be looked for at Delhi, in the drawing-room at Viceregal Lodge: and the motto, which according to Macaulay and also Lord Mahon (who refers to it in his History of England) was below the picture, is above it.

The artist was Arthur William Devis, who painted it while in Calcutta for William Larkins, the Accountant-General. But an element of confusion as to the authorship has been introduced by the fact that a very similar picture was painted by Zoffany. Colonel H. F. Davies exhibited at Burlington House in 1879 a portrait by that artist of Hastings which was painted by order of Thomas Henry Davies, Advocate-General of Bengal from 1786 until his death in 1792. Hastings is represented in the same sprigged waistcoat and turned down collars which he is wearing in the portrait by Devis. In a letter of December 16, 1886, to the Director of the National Portrait Gallery, Colonel Davies wrote:

When Zoffany went to India my grandfather who became Advocate General was a great friend of Hastings and owed his advancement to him. He had two portraits painted, one of himself and one of Hastings (the one exhibited in 1879). The picture has always been in the possession of my family. There can be no doubt about its being by Zoffany.

It may be that Devis based his portrait upon this painting by Zoffany: for Devis came to Calcutta in 1785 by way of China, and Hastings who sailed for England in February of that year could scarcely have sat to him. But it so happens that the work is fully authenticated as that of Devis by a fine mezzotint engraving executed in Calcutta by Henry Hudson in

July 1794 (1). When Larkins left Calcutta in 1793, he handed the picture over to Charles Chapman, who wrote to Hastings that "it is at present in the hands of Hudson, a mezzotint scraper who, as far as he has advanced in the work, promises to make it a most excellent engraving". Examples are extremely scarce: and an impression was advertised this year (1925) by Messrs. Maggs Brothers for sale at £63. There is a copy at the India Office. The portrait was also engraved by C. J. Tomkins (August 24, 1787): and a copy may be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall.

Larkins does not appear to have held a high opinion of Devis' work. "After all," he writes, "I can assure you every other part but the face is a daub." Chapman did not retain it long. When he left Calcutta in 1794 for the Salt Agency at Contai, he gave it to Samuel Turner, a cousin of Hastings (2) describing it as "that excellent portrait done by Devis, which many of your friends agree in thinking by far the best they have seen". Turner hung the picture in the upper hall of his house at Alipore, which has been identified as the present Hastings House. On his departure from Bengal, he restored the picture to Chapman who offered it to the Government of India. He informs Hastings in 1796 that "The picture which I got from Larkins now fronts that of the Marquis [Cornwallis] in Government House" (3). The tradition that it was by Zoffany seems to have lingered, for we find Sir John D'Oyly writing in 1805: "I saw your picture (an abominable one, it is true; by Zophany) in a conspicuous place in the Council-Chamber". There was at no time a portrait of Hastings by Zoffany at Government House, and the reference must be to Devis.

Devis also painted a replica, which has disappeared. Nesbitt Thompson writing from Calcutta early in the year 1785 says with reference to the popular grief at Hastings' departure: "Little Bissumber Pundit has commissioned Devis to make a replica of his portrait of the Governor General for him. "In a later letter of April 26, in the same year he writes:—"I should be guilty of injustice to Bissumber Pundit were I not to tell you how he cherishes and venerates your memory. His principal business and pleasure since your departure have been to superintend the picture which Devis is painting for him." Bissumber was the brother of Beniram Pundit, the vakeel of the Raja of Berar, who rendered valuable service to Hastings at the time of Cheyt Singh's insurrection at Benares. More will be said of both of them on a later page.

(1) The inscription on the engraving states definitely that the portrait is by Devis.

(2) Captain Samuel Turner, of the Company's service, was sent by Hastings in 1782 on a mission to Bhutan and Tibet. He was accompanied by Samuel Davis (afterwards a Director of the Company from 1810 to 1819) who executed the Bhutan illustrations in the account of the journey which was published in 1800.

(3) The portrait of Cornwallis which is now at Belvedere was also painted by Devis: and was purchased by public subscription in 1798 for sicca Rs. 20,000. It was presented to the Governor-General with the request that he would allow it to be placed "in the Government House in the room in which the Levee may be held."

James Augustus Hicky.

SOME NEW FACTS.

DR. BUSTEED, in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta* (1) has told in detail the career of Hicky as proprietor of the *Bengal Gazette*; but of the earlier and later history of that remarkable individual little has hitherto been discovered.

As regards Hicky's antecedents Dr. Busteed concluded that he "was probably a printer by trade, and had come out from England, possibly under engagement from the India House, as in one of his early addresses to the public...he describes himself as 'the first and late printer to the Honourable Company' and in another as 'free of the Printers and Stationers Company in London'." The first of these two statements by Hicky refers evidently to his having been employed by the Bengal Government to print certain Army Orders and Regulations (2). With regard to the second, an inquiry addressed to Stationers' Hall elicited a reply that "James Hicky, son of William Hicky (late of Long Acre, linen weaver) was bound apprentice here on the 5th February, 1754.... James Hicky did not take up the freedom of the Company." This statement, by the way, gives a clue to his parentage and also to the probable year of his birth. Assuming that he was apprenticed at fourteen, he would have been born in 1739 or 1740.

Though Hicky exaggerated in saying that he was actually a freeman of the Stationers' Company, the fact that he had been apprenticed seems to show that he had been intended for the printing trade, whether he really embarked in it or not. Current gossip at Calcutta, however, as reflected in the entertaining memories of his namesake, William Hickey, gave a different story of how Hicky was led to start as a printer in Bengal. The former, on reaching Calcutta in November, 1777, found that James Augustus Hicky had then been in jail for debt for upwards of two years. Owing to his passionate nature, none of the attorneys at Calcutta would act for him; but the newcomer, at his earnest entreaty, took up his case and secured judgment in his favour, thus procuring his liberation (3).

(1) Fourth edition, pp. 182 et seq.

(2) Op. cit., p. 218. See the deed of release executed by him on March 7, 1795; which is printed as an appendix (A).

(3) William Hickey, while under examination by the House of Commons Committee which investigated (1781-82) the administration of justice in Bengal, was asked whether he knew the Calcutta jail (which was in Lall Bazar to the north of the Old Mission Church). "He said: Perfectly well; he has been in it very often. He visited an Englishman who was confined there." After describing the prison building and the yard at the back, with a tank in the centre, in which the prisoners washed themselves and their clothes, he continued: "The person

He goes on to say (vol. II, p. 175) that his client "during his confinement met with a treatise on printing, from which he collected sufficient information to commence printer, there never having been a press in Calcutta. By indefatigable attention and unremitting labour he succeeded in cutting a rough set of types which answered very well for hand-bills and common advertisements; and as he could afford to work cheap, he met with considerable encouragement. Having scraped together by this means a few hundred rupees, he sent to England for a regular and proper set of materials for printing"; on the receipt of which he extended his operations to the issue of a newspaper, namely, the *Bengal Gazette*.

Whether or not Hicky had had any practical experience of the printing trade before leaving England, it is certain that this was not the only means he had adopted for earning a livelihood. In *Bengal: Past and Present* (vol. III, p. 45) it was stated on the authority of Sir James Stephen (4) that at some time or other he had been clerk to Serjeant Davy, a well-known lawyer (King's Serjeant, 1762; died, 1780); and now evidence has been found that he had also dabbled in medicine. The clue was given by an entry in the *East India Kalendar* for 1791, stating that Hicky arrived in Bengal by the *Rockingham* in 1772. The log of that vessel is preserved at the India Office, and in it occurs the name of "James Hickey" as surgeon's mate; while the list of passengers contains no such name. The ship anchored at Hijili on 16 December, 1772. No allusion is made in the log to Hicky quitting his post on reaching India; and so we must conclude that he had an understanding with the captain on the matter, having merely joined in order to get a passage. What is important to note is that, since all surgeons and their mates were examined at the East India House before appointment, Hicky must have had some qualifications, however slender, for the duties he undertook. This explains, moreover, a further passage in William Hickey's memoirs. After mentioning, as already narrated, his client's sending to England for printing materials, he goes on: "Resolving also to have two strings to his bow, he at the same time gave orders for a quantity of medicine, as he proposed to exercise the business of physician, surgeon, and apothecary, as well as that of printer."

We turn now to Hicky's last years, which were passed in poverty and distress (5). Twenty years ago Miss Gregg ("Sydney C. Grier") in her

he visited had erected a small tent of bamboo and matting in this yard, at his own expence, by the Sheriff's permission, which is an indulgence generally allowed to Europeans." The prisoner was evidently James Augustus Hicky. (See appendix B, where William Hickey's evidence is reproduced in full.)

(4) Sir James Stephen in a note to his *Nuncoomar and Impey* (Vol. I, p. 36) quotes from a letter of Impey, in which Sir Elijah mentions that he had known Hicky on the Western Circuit as clerk to Serjeant Davy.

(5) He was again imprisoned: for in August 1783 he sent a petition to the Judges of the Supreme Court from "the Birjee Jail" which was on the Maidan upon the site now occupied by the Victoria Memorial Hall. William Hickey tells us (Vol. III, p. 262) that he was released in February, 1785, at the instance of Warren Hastings who was leaving Calcutta and who forgave him the fines for the non-payment of which he had been committed. "From that time he became a warm and zealous defender of Mr. Hastings."

Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife (p. 24), drew attention to a couple of letters among the Hastings MSS. in the British Museum, addressed by Hicky to the ex-Governor-General, appealing for help. Dr. Busteed followed up this clue, and in the fourth edition of his *Echoes* (p. 219) gave further details. In the first letter, dated from Calcutta in November, 1793, Hicky wrote that he had long been out of employment and unable to provide for his numerous offspring, and he besought Hastings to obtain for him some post under Government, such as that of Deputy to the Clerk of the Market at Calcutta. He added that, should he fail to procure some post there, his only resource would be to engage himself as surgeon on board a returning East Indiaman, and thus secure passages to England for himself and his family. On this Dr. Busteed observes: "It is worth noting here that the writer expresses no diffidence as to being able to get employment as a surgeon, and this confirms a fact satirised...many years before in his own paper, namely, that any professional training or experience was superfluous in the case of those embarking on the general practice of medicine in Calcutta." Of course, had Dr. Busteed been aware of the fact now discovered, that Hicky had actually served as a surgeon's mate on an Indiaman, he would not have been so scandalized at the suggestion. The second letter, written from Calcutta at Christmas, 1799, contains a further appeal from Hicky to the generosity of the man he had treated so badly. He concluded by saying that "everything which I had has been sold or mortgaged for my unhappy family, and none but God and ourselves know the keenness of our distress." To neither letter (so far as is known) was any reply returned.

Dr. Busteed was unable to carry any further the story of Hicky's misfortunes. "The name," he says, "disappears at this point from record...What became of him is not revealed; that useful but melancholy book, the *Bengal Obituary*, does not enshroud him." As the result, however, of some recent researches I am able to add one or two facts. The manuscript lists preserved at the India Office of European Inhabitants of Bengal not in the Company's Service begin with one compiled at the end of 1793, and in it we find Hicky recorded as living at "Collimba" (Colinga?), Calcutta, and practising as a "surgeon and apothecary." The next lists extant are for 1795 and 1798 respectively; they give only lists of names, without particulars, but his is amongst them. Then comes one received in England in 1804, and presumably compiled at the end of 1803; in this his name is missing, for the very good reason that by this time he was dead. Turning now to the printed *East India Kalendar*, we find him duly entered in the first issue (1791), with "printer" as his occupation; but in the next edition (1795) he is described as "surgeon and apothecary." Evidently, in his desperation, he was trying to make a little money by acting as a doctor in the Indian quarter; and this appears to have gone on until the time of his death. The first issue of the *East India Register* (early in 1803) contains his name and describes him as a "surgeon." The second edition (corrected to July, 1803) omits him altogether. The explanation is that he had died

NOW THESE PRESENTS WITNESS that for and in consideration of the said Sum of Sicca Rupees Six thousand seven hundred and Eleven of lawful Money of Bengal aforesaid to him the said James Augustus Hicky in hand well and truly paid [by] the said United Company at or before the Sealing and delivery of these Presents in full satisfaction and discharge of and for all and every sum an[d] Sums of money claims and demands whatsoever [due] and owing to the said James Augustus Hicky fr[om] the said United Company (the receipt whereof h[e] the said James Augustus Hicky doth hereby acknowledge and thereof and therefrom and of and from every Part and parcel thereof doth hereby acquit Release and for ever discharge the said United Company their Successors and Assigns) He the said James Augustus Hicky Hath remised released acquitted and discharged and by these Presents DOTH for himself his Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns fully and absolutely Remise Release acquit and Discharge the said United Company their Successors and Assigns of and from All and all manner of Action and Actions Cause and causes of Action Suits Bills Bonds Writings obligatory Notes Accounts reckonings Sum and Sums of Money Debts dues specialities Covenants Contracts controversies variances Agreements Promises Damages Judgments extents Executions Claims and demands whatsoever both in Law and Equity which he the said James Augustus Hicky ever had now hath or which he his heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns shall or may or can have or Claim against them the said United Company their Successors or Assigns for or by reason or means of any matter or thing whatsoever touching or concerning or in any wise relating to the Printing and Publishing the said Orders and regulations and on every other Account whatsoever from the beginning of the World to the day of the date of these Presents IN WITNESS whereof the said James Augustus Hicky hath hereunto set his Hand and Seal this Seventh day of March in the thirty fifth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King Defender of the faith and so forth and in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety five.

JAS. A. HICKY.

SEALED and DELIVERED at Calcutta aforesaid where no Stamps are used or can be had In the Presence of

WM. JACKSON
JOHN BULLEY (7).

(7) The name of Bulley will be found in the list of European inhabitants in Bengal in the East India Register for 1803: where he is described as "assistant to the company's attorney," William Jackson, who held that office from 1788 until his death in 1807.

APPENDIX B.

THE OLD CALCUTTA JAIL.

WILLIAM HICKEY'S EVIDENCE.

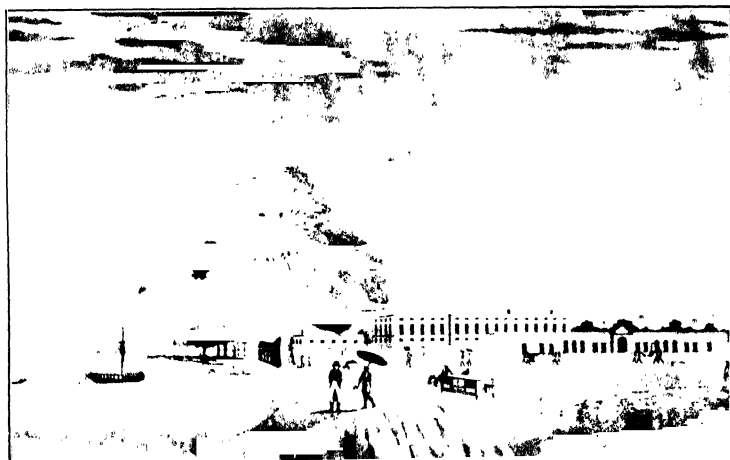
" Mr. William Hickey, being examined, was asked whether he was acquainted with the gaol at Calcutta. He said: Perfectly well; he has been in it very often. He visited an Englishman who was confined there. You enter the prison by a large gateway, over which is the gaoler's apartment. You then enter a yard. The space from the gateway to the prison, he thinks, is about twenty yards. The prison, he supposes, is about one hundred feet in front and about thirty feet deep. It is what is called here a single house; it is divided into small apartments, and those very bad; the stench dreadful, and more offensive than any he ever experienced in this country. That there is no thorough draught of air, but formerly there might have been. The windows are neither large nor numerous. The rooms are low in comparison to the rooms of houses in India, but in this country they would not be deemed low. There are some open drains, which run into the back yard, from which, in a great measure, he conceives the stench to arise. And being asked whether there are commodious separate apartments, fit for the reception of prisoners of distinction, he said certainly not one in the prison. There is a large yard at the back of the prison; it is nearly about one hundred feet square. The prison is on one side, and on the three other sides a high wall. In the middle is a tank, in which the prisoners promiscuously bathe and wash their cloaths. The tank is nearly about thirty feet square. The person he visited had erected a small tent of bamboo and matting in this yard, at his own expence, by the Sheriff's permission, which is an indulgence generally allowed to Europeans. That this person has frequently told him that it would be impossible for any European to exist any length of time in the prison, but even in that shed it was at times scarcely to be endured, from the stench of the tank, drains, etc. He experienced the stench himself, which the prisoners told him came from the tank, but this was nothing like what he had experienced in passing through the prison. And being asked whether that tank appeared to him a commodious place for decent persons to bathe in and make their ablutions, he said he thinks not. Being asked whether water is laid into the prison at the public expence, he said he does not know; he conceives not, because he was asked for charity by a female prisoner, and she asked for money to pay her servant boy for bringing water to her, and that, if she did not get the money, she would have no water; she spoke in Moorish, which he did not understand, but it was interpreted to him. Being asked whether Hindoos, Mahomedans, and Europeans were thrown indiscriminately into that prison, he said they were all together, with the exception of the indulgence to Europeans beforementioned. And being

asked whether the debtors and criminals were separated, he said no; he has frequently met prisoners with fetters on. Being asked whether the men were separated from the women, he said he believes not, but he is not positive. Being asked in what manner the food for the prisoners is provided, he said by the prisoners themselves or by their own servants. Being asked whether he has seen the King's Bench Prison, he said he has. Being asked which he thinks the most commodious prison, considering the circumstances of the two countries, he said they will not bear a comparison; Calcutta is so much worse. Being asked whether he thinks imprisonment in the two countries, under any circumstances, similar in its effects, he said he conceives it much more likely to prejudice the health, even of the natives, there than here; that the Sheriff has the superintendence of the gaol, and all complaints from the prisoners are made to him; that there were great numbers sick when he was there. And being asked whether there was any infirmary or provision for the sick, or any medical assistance allowed to the gaol, he said he believes none; he never heard of any."

[Reports from Committees of the House of Commons: reprint (1804): Vol. V, East Indies: p. 442.]



THE TOMB OF HENRY SHERWOOD IN THE
OLD RESIDENCY CEMETERY AT BERHAMPTON



Mrs. Sherwood in India.

FORT WILLIAM AND DINAPORE IN 1805-1806.

ONE of the most interesting spots in the deserted cantonment of Berhampore is the old Residency cemetery at Babulbuna, a mile to the north-east of the barracks. It contains the grave of the infant son of Mrs. Sherwood the writer of "Little Henry and his Bearer" (1).

The inscription on the tomb is as follows:

To the memory of Henry Sherwood, infant son of Henry Sherwood, Esq., Paymaster, His Majesty's 53rd Regiment, and Mary Martha Sherwood, his wife, who was born at Dinapore on Christmas Day, 1805, and died at Berhampore on July 22, 1807. Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.

Mr. Henry Beveridge, writing on "Old Places in Moorshedabad" in the *Calcutta Review* in 1902, has observed that the infant here buried cannot have been the original of the hero in "Little Henry and his Bearer". Both were born at Dinapore, and both died at Berhampore: but the child in the story lived until he was eight years and seven months old. It is clear, however, that Mrs. Sherwood had her lost son in mind: for the frontispiece to a sequel entitled "The Last Days of Boosy", represents the bearer standing in front of a tomb of which the surroundings closely resemble those of the grave at Berhampore (2). Boosy has become a historical character, but here again it must be pointed out that the servant who actually looked after little Henry was an ayah. His mother writes:

He was constantly either with me or his favourite black Woman; by day she walked incessantly with him, always singing to him her lullaby. Both the words and the air are still fresh in my mind,

(1) Lieut. Col. J. H. Tull Walsh, I.M.S., makes the extraordinary statement in his *History of Moorshedabad* (p. 78) that "little Henry was the antiquary and explorer of Gaur". Henry Creighton is undoubtedly buried in the old Residency cemetery, but there the connexion begins and ends. Another historic grave in the cemetery is that of George Thomas, the Irish adventurer who became Raja of Hansi. He died at Berhampore on August 22, 1802, on his way down to Calcutta. His tomb bears no inscription.

(2) It was announced in 1908 in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. II, part I, p. 97) that the Government of Bengal had placed the tomb on the list of historical monuments to be maintained by the Public Works Department. A reference to this matter in a Bombay newspaper elicited the information that a brother, the Rev. Henry Martyn Sherwood, was at that time vicar of a parish in Worcestershire. Mrs. Sherwood's account of her meeting with Henry Martyn is well known and has often been quoted. She met at his house at Cawnpore the Jesuit priest Julius Caesar, for whom the Begum Sumroo procured from the Pope the Bishopric of Amathunta in *partibus infidelium*, and whose statue stands at the base of Tadolini's monument to the Begum in the church at Sardhana. He conversed with Martyn in Latin.

and in after years I sung them in the original Hindustanee to every beloved one who rested on my knee:

" Sleep make Baby,
Sleep make;
Sleep little Baby,
Sleep, oh! oh!
Golden is thy bed,
Of silk are thy curtains,
From Cabul the Mogul woman comes
To make my master sleep."

The fame of Mrs. Mary Martha Sherwood (if she is remembered at all in these days) rests upon her many books—"The Fairchild Family" (published in 1817), "Little Henry and his Bearer" and upwards of three hundred and fifty volumes of essays, tracts and pamphlets. But it is as a chronicler of Indian conditions and customs that she most deserves attention. She not only possessed the *esprit observateur* but wielded an easy pen. The pages of the diary kept by her during her ten years' residence in India from 1805 to 1815 abound with brightness and humour and supply vivid pictures of her surroundings and her experiences (3). In the present article we shall content ourselves with that portion which relates to her life in Calcutta and at Dinapore.

She was twenty-eight years of age when she married her cousin Captain Henry Sherwood of His Majesty's 53rd Regiment on the last day of June, 1803. His early career was of a remarkable character. From 1787 to 1795, he was a wanderer in France, where his father had settled, first at Boulogne and then at St. Valéry en Caux. In 1792 he visited Marseilles as a sailor on a French brig, and was interned in the Hotel St. Blimond at Abbeville with Admiral Sir Digby Dent, and a number of other Englishmen of all ranks in society, including two clergymen, four Army officers, several ladies, and a smuggler of the name of Johnson.

In 1804 Sherwood was appointed to be paymaster of his regiment which was ordered to the East Indies in the following year (4). He embarked with his wife in the *Devonshire* (Captain Murray) on April 23, 1805 leaving behind a daughter Mary, who was less than a year old. They had on board eleven officers of the regiment, nineteen cadets and several "gentlemen of the Civil Service", proceeding to Madras. The state-cabins were occupied by two families, Colonel and Mrs. Thornley and an infant, and Colonel and Mrs. Carr.

(3) The following extracts are taken from "The Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood (1775-1851): from the Diaries of Captain and Mrs. Sherwood", edited by F. J. Harvey Darton, and published in London in 1910. Mrs. Sherwood's Autobiography was published in 1854 but has long been out of print. Her greatest friend as a child was the ninth Lord Valentia, the traveller (1769-1844).

(4) Sherwood served in the Nepaul war and was at Fort Kalinga near Dehra Dun in 1814 when Major-General Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie (the hero of Vellore) was killed leading the attack. The body of Gillespie was preserved in spirits and the comment ran: "He was a pickle when alive and a pickle when dead."

In the great cabin were our officers on one side, and on the other, partitioned off, three daughters of a well-known Dean of Bristol, Dr. L —, who had an aunt married to a Duke, and the eldest of them was elaborate in her toilette and appeared at dinner in jewels (5).

The voyage was extremely unpleasant. Mrs. Sherwood was a bad sailor and the narrowness of her cabin increased her sufferings: but the variety of adventure and the change of scene invested her experiences with interest. On August 25, she landed through the surf at Madras.

Never shall I forget the yells of the boatmen, when preparing to meet the fury of a wave. Amid the wild howlings of the men, all of whom were almost naked, the roar of the surf, and the agitation of the whole fabric of the boat, there was not time to analyse a single feeling. All appeared to me to be one wild scene of terror and confusion, until I felt the shock of the vessel against *terra firma*, and heard the cry of the multitude whose business it was to seize hold of her and pull her up on the shore.

The journey was resumed on September 2: and at Diamond Harbour the passengers took leave of the *Devonshire*. Sherwood hired one of the many boats which were plying for hire, and they started for Calcutta. Mrs. Sherwood was so unwell that she was glad to lie down on a mattress and commit all care to her husband. "It was unfortunate, however, that the two parties, the blacks and the whites, had no means whatever of communicating with each other". At the turn of the tide, they reached Fulta and stayed until ten o'clock at night at a tavern kept by a European (6). Their expenses amounted to Rs. 18/- a sum then equivalent to twenty-eight shillings. By nine o'clock on the following morning, they found themselves in sight of Fort William.

The boatmen stopped on a landing place in a line with the Fort, and began to jabber and talk. Mr. Sherwood made equally strenuous efforts to make himself understood by them. Both parties failed. At length he pushed the boat out and pointed to the town, repeating the name Calcutta. Still we did not understand each other, and we lay in the middle of the stream for an hour under the pelting rays of the noon-day sun. In this situation we remained till nearly noon, when Mr. Sherwood spied a boat approaching with a white man on board. He called to him and entreated him

(5) Their brother came to Ceylon to meet them, and at Madras they stayed with Dr. Anderson, the Physician-General, at his garden-house about two miles from the Fort where Mrs. Sherwood visited them.

(6) The following advertisement appears in the *Calcutta Gazette* in 1815: "Fultah Farm and Tavern: For Sale that well-known and long-established Concern, at present conducted under the Form of Higginson and Baldwin. Most eligibly situated at Fultah contiguous to the river, and which has for many years enjoyed the greatest celebrity as a Farm and the highest reputation as a Tavern...for the general resort of passengers to & from Calcutta. For further particulars, Enquire of Mr. Higginson, No. 16 Chowringhee Road, Calcutta".

to act as interpreter, and through him we learned that all the men wanted of us was to know where we wished to land!

They finally got on shore at two o'clock and went to a tavern, the "Crown and Anchor", where they met with much civility and lived well, but the charge for a stay of twenty four hours was four guineas. Here it was that Mrs. Sherwood first encountered the torment of mosquitoes. "Though we had a net, I was so bitten, and the bites inflamed to such a degree that the next morning I looked like a person just broken out with a plentiful crop of chicken-pox". The next day Mrs. Sherwood bought a table and a few chairs, and by nightfall was settled in "two immense rooms" in Fort William, with all her possessions around her. Her health was still not good, but the abundance of new sights provided much material for her diary. The adjutant birds, which filled the squares in the Fort and Tank Square, attracted her attention as much as the crows.

They place themselves at the top of posts or the corners of buildings or on any projecting point of a gateway, a balcony, or anything of the kind, and there they sit immovable for hours and looking at some distance as if they formed part of the thing on which they perch. Indeed, when passing through Calcutta, to come to the Fort, I really thought they were ornaments in stone, fixed on a line of posts in front of a house.

She was greatly shocked one morning by seeing a gentleman ride through the square with his "black syce" running by the horse. "Had I left India the next day I should probably have told this anecdote as a proof of the pride and cruelty of the English to the poor native, whereas by a long residence I learned to feel that the English are universally kind masters, and that the coming of the English to Hindostan is the greatest blessing which ever descended on the poor Hindoo."

Her description of the "City of Palaces", as she saw it in September 1805, deserves to be quoted in full:

Persons coming up the Hooghly, as we did, generally land at Chandpaul Ghaut, near the Fort. Between the Fort and the City is a wide plain called the Maidan, over which pass several roads shaded by trees; the Hooghly is on the left hand, busy and gay with the crowd of shipping. A long extent of houses, called Chowringhee, is on the right hand of the plain. When I arrived, I felt the heat and glare very disagreeable, yet the whole row of houses in Chowringhee appeared then to my eye more to resemble visions of enchantment than real earthly dwellings. Each house stands apart, or connected by long ranges of terraces, carried over the roofs of offices or servants' apartments. These galleries, as well as the flat roofs of the houses, are protected by balustrades. The buildings are of brick and cemented by *chunam*. There are few without large porticoes, sustained by polished pillars and carried up in many instances to the roof of the house; these too are protected with balustrades, and are often as large as the apartments within.

In many houses in Calcutta the ground floors are not occupied for receiving visitors, but the first floor. As at Madras the furniture is as scanty as is consistent with convenience, and the walls, which are white, have nothing attached to them but the sconces (7). The punkah, however, must not be forgotten, as it is a most important piece of furniture. It is a wooden frame of a few feet broad and nearly the length of the room, over which some sort of cloth is fastened, with a deep flounce of fringe; a string is attached to the centre of it, and with this string a bearer swings it backwards and forwards over the heads of the company. It would often be impossible to endure the atmosphere of a dinner-table, where the most unimportant guest has always one servant behind his chair, unless the air were agitated by a punkah; and notwithstanding this, the effect on some persons is excessively uncomfortable. Another feature of Indian life is the hookah. When I first saw one, with its 'snake', I thought the bubbling noise, and the faint smell of rosewater which emanates from the apertures, more intolerable to endure than the creaking of the punkah or the bites of the mosquitoes.

Of Fort William she writes that it is "regularly built with its drawbridges, its ditches, its magnificent gateways, and courts beyond courts, all kept in the most elegant order".

In crossing the first drawbridge, of which as I lay back in my palanquin I was made aware by the hollow sound of the measured steps of the bearers, I looked out and saw a number of lovely gazelles feeding on the grassy sides of the fosse, under the shade of the walls.

Passing "several squares", she notes their handsome buildings, "all white as at Madras and Oriental in their structure." These squares she says, "were green in the centre, with rows of trees which shaded broad paved walks in the fronts of the buildings." These squares were evidently in the Fort: and in the following description we seem to recognize Rampart Barracks:

I was set down under a range of lofty buildings in the largest square. This range was appropriated to the use of officers; the ground floor consisted of apartments for the use of the servants of those who occupied the rooms immediately above. A vast staircase, common to the whole suite, led to a gallery wide as a street, and full of windows (or rather doors) opening into a verandah beyond which ran the whole length of all the rooms. Through a portion of this gallery I was led to our apartments which consisted of an outer room, which had no opening to the outer air, though it had many borrowed lights from the inner room and the gallery.

(7) Sconces were wall-brackets bearing a candle or cocoanut oil lamp. Some held two and others three lights.

This we made our sitting room and a vast inner room we made our sleeping room.

Servants had already been provided. These were: "One kitmutgar at nine rupees a month: this functionary goes to market, overlooks the cook, and waits at table, but he will not carry home what he purchases in the market. One mussaulchee: his business is to wash dishes, carry a lantern, and, in fact, to wait upon the kitmutgar. One bheesty: his name signifies the Heavenly (8) and he carries water in a skin over his shoulder. We can understand wherefore, in such a climate as India, he may have got his name. Of course, the inferior sort of John Bull always calls this functionary 'Beasty'. One matranee, the only female servant we had in Fort William: she swept our rooms and appeared several times a day to receive my order. She wore a chintz or silver petticoat, a white muslin jacket and veil, and a quantity of silver ornaments. One sirdar-bearer, or prince of the bearers. One mate: when we had provided ourselves with a palanquin, we had also to have six bearers. One washer-woman or dhoby [sic: dhobini] whose wages are seven rupees a month. One cook or *bauwerchie*."

The tale of servants completed, Mrs. Sherwood continues:

There was little rest to be enjoyed as yet. The great gallery, running the whole length of one range which was called Captain's Barracks, exactly resembled a crowded street, or piazza in a bazaar. There was a continual passing and repassing of almost every description of natives with whom Europeans are supposed to have any intercourse, from the portly sircar to the obsequious sweeper, including every description of pedlar or merchant of small wares. These last by their constant intrusion and by the pertinacity with which they recommended their wares were more tormenting even than the mosquito.

On Saturday October 13, 1805, the 53rd left Calcutta for the Upper Provinces: and on the day following (just a week before the battle of Trafalgar) the Sherwoods embarked in a pinnace, their *khidmatgar*, "whom we called Sammy and who spoke thorough English, undertaking the arrangements".

The regiment did not appear until October 18th, in the evening, when they came up with us, and caused a great bustle and noise. The reason of their non-appearance for so long was that they had been obliged to halt one day to form into regular order, into which our pinnace was now fitted. The colonel [Mawby] led the van with all his smaller boats, his stable, his kitchen, his laundry and his store-house. Next to him came the interpreter, then the major, the adjutant, and the quartermaster, after whom ourselves as part of the staff, then the officers of the grenadiers, followed by their company in huge thatched boats: after these each company in their order; the whole being brought up by the light infantry. The

(8) The Persian word is *bihisht*, an inhabitant of *bihisht*, or paradise. So the cook is *Khalifa*, the bearer *Sirdar*, and the sweeper *Mehtar* or *Jamadar*.

boats, when in a line, extended, more than two miles. Each company's boats were distinguished by a colour, and thus we were to proceed and to take our signals from the colonel. We were to move in the morning and to anchor at night, at the sound of a gun from the admiral.

As soon as the regiment fell into procession, the course of events became monotonous. Various places of interest were passed on the way to Dinapore—Lord Wellesley's country house at Barrackpore, the "great pagoda of Nuddea", Plassey (9) Moorshedabad (where the Sherwoods visited a temple and viewed with strong disapproval a huge image of the goddess Durga), Patna with its busy commerce and a bazar nearly three miles long and "Noangung", [Mohanganj], where the Bhagirathi joins the Ganges. The officers procured some amusement by brief shooting expeditions on shore, their bag including jackals, pigeons, wild duck, and various game birds.

No tigers were encountered, but "we saw the print of a tiger's foot in the sand".

It was immensely large. The country under the hills is much frequented by them. The mountaineers, it is said, used to think that they had entered into a treaty with them and, in consequence they never killed any of the beasts unless there had been an infraction of the treaty on the part of the tigers themselves, manifested by an injurious act, such as the destruction of an individual; on an occasion of this kind the villagers were wont to rise in a body and to hunt the enemy, until the full price of the mischief, as they calculated, had been paid, by the death of one or more of the savage beasts, after which the tigers were supposed to have got their lesson, the treaty was put in force again, and every one returned to his hut under a sense of present security. The English, however, have turned the tide greatly against the tigers within the last few years by promising a reward of ten rupees for every tiger's head brought to a collector, and it is wonderful how many are now killed.

The districts through which they passed were "a pretty country for young gentlemen to sport in," but "otherwise disadvantageous". There was "a constant system of pillage going on among the natives, and murder was committed on the slightest occasion." Villages of retired sepoys had been established to check this, with pensions and grants of land for deserving

(9) At this point Mrs. Sherwood writes less favourably of the "thorough English" spoken by the Khidmatgar. "We find great difficulty in making ourselves understood, though he professes to understand English. When we ask him a question which he does not understand, he always says 'Yes'. When we asked him how far it was to Plassey, he replied 'Cutwa before', meaning to say 'one day to Cutwa, the next to Plassey.' " He was replaced when the regiment was ordered from Berhampore to Cawnpore in September 1807, by "a little hideous kitmutgar, with a huge head and shrivelled limbs who served us from the time of our residence in Berhampore till we went down down to Calcutta to embark for England." The name of "this monstrous dwarf" was Babouk, "and worthy he was of being a brother of the famous Barber of Bagdad".

men (10). Occasionally, Mrs. Sherwood was enabled to take a walk ashore, but she found that the villagers followed the white visitors in crowds.

On December 5, the voyage terminated at Dinapore. This is still a well-known cantonment on the right bank of the Ganges, and is the military station of the great city of Patna, the modern capital of the province of Behar and Orissa. The name is properly Danapur, and Dr. Ives of the *Kent* writing in 1755, spells it Dunapoor. The best account of the erection of the barracks is given by George Francis Grand in his "Narrative of a Gentleman long Resident in India". He was serving in the "European Regiment" under the celebrated Colonel Gilbert Ironside in 1766, at a time when the Bengal Army was composed of three brigades, stationed respectively at the Presidency, Berhampore and "Bankypoor".

Our cantonments in 1767 took fire (11), and such was the rapidity with which the thatched Bungalows burnt that scarcely an officer had one moment to save anything of his equipment. The Government with that liberality consistent to men vested with such a trust, required upon honor a statement from each Officer of his loss, and everyone was reimbursed according to the stated amount. This accident gave rise to the erection of Barracks, both at Dinapore and Barhampore, and the grand scale on which these were formed entailed such an expense on the Hon'ble Company, and sunk such a capital as to have caused them to regret that the full Batta had been struck off by Lord Clive, instead of being continued in the field, and the full Batta preserved in the Company's Provinces conditionally that each officer found his own Quarters.

A good description of Dinapore is to be found in Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs* (Vol. II, p. 90 of the 1813 edition) where he reproduces the journal of Dr. Cruso, who accompanied Sir Charles Malet in 1785 from Surat to the camp of Mahdaji Scindia at Agra and thence to Calcutta, Captain (afterwards General) Reynolds being attached to the party as Surveyor.

(10) There were known as *thanas*. Frequent mention of these sepoy colonies is made by Buchanan Hamilton: and many villages in the South Behar districts are still described on the maps as Arazi Inglis or Ghazipur Inglis, indicating that they are old sepoy settlements (see note by Mr. J. F. W. James, I.C.S., in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 120). Mrs. Ann Deane (A.D.) halted near Palliah-poor, one of these tannahs, on her way by land to Meerut in the same year (1805).

(11) The Board's Proceedings of May 18, 1767, record the receipt of a letter dated the 8th instant, from Mr. Rumbold, the Chief of Patna, "acquainting us that the City of Patna is nearly destroyed by a fire that broke out close to the English Factory which is entirely consumed, as also the Company's cottah and every godown belonging either to them or private Merchants: that the fire raged so violently it was with difficulty he saved the Company's books and papers and escaped with the other Gentlemen to the Dutch Factory... That having no other place to retire to with the Gentlemen of the Factory but Meer Absets and the Company's Gardens at Bankypoor, both lately made the Quarters of the Commander-in-chief, he purposed taking possession of them." In consequence of this "late unhappy misfortune", the Board decided to inform "the Gentlemen at Patna" of their resolution to "have the new cantonments at Dinapore and Mongheer covered in with Brick-pitched roofs."

We reached Dinapore on the 4th (September 1785) and dined with some friends we had formerly known with General Goddard's detachment at Surat, in the elegant and extensive cantonments which are said to have cost the Company twenty-five lacks of rupees.. They form a large and a small square, and each suite of apartments consists of a hall or sitting-room and a bedchamber on each side. The field officers' quarters are excellent; those belonging to the commanding officer form an elegant and spacious building. The kitchens and offices are at a proper distance. The area of the principal square is a grass-plot divided by gravel walks into four equal parts, regularly planted with beautiful nym or lym trees.

Mrs. Sherwood's own account is as follows:

I can compare the buildings at Dinapore to nothing but churches; all but the old Government House were of a single floor, though lofty, with large windows, double and closed with green lattice work. We looked over a green, neatly kept, to a row of officers' quarters built nearly like our own, and we could also catch a glimpse of the lesser square beyond, in which our colonel had taken a quarter. Beyond the second square was a wide plain, the hospital, and the burying-ground, and behind us and the servants' houses was the 'native' bazar and the road to Patna. The river ran at some distance across our corner of the cantonment but not within our view. As in all places I have ever yet resided in in the East, there was an air of solemn magnificence in Dinapore and a hollow church-like sound running along the empty halls and galleries.

Other features of the place are described by Mrs. Ann Deane (A.D.) in her "Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindostan During the Years 1804 to 1814": (pp. 70, 71: London 1823). She passed through Dinapore in April 1805, on her way by land to Meerut.

On quitting Bankipore we travelled on a fine level road for about eight miles in a straight line, to Danapore, the military station of this district for infantry regiments. Here are excellent barracks for nearly four thousand men, and good accommodation at a little distance for their officers. Danapore shows an extensive front to the Ganges, on whose bank it stands. It contains a capital bazar, and a number of good mechanics, by whom furniture and carriages in the European style are neatly executed. Leather is also cured and dressed here in a superior style. Their boots, shoes, harness, etc., are equal to those brought from England. Some English shopkeepers have settled at this place; but the natives imitate so well that, I am told, my countrymen do not find the business answer. Wax candles are better made here than anywhere and are indeed most excellent: in short, either here or at Patna, everything for ornamenting house or person may be procured for money.

The following extracts are taken from the diary of Captain Sherwood: and it is of interest to note that his great grandson, Lieut. H. Sherwood, of the 9th Battalion Middlesex Regiment, arrived in the cantonment on December 6, 1915, almost exactly a hundred and ten years later.

* * * * *

" 1805, December 5th.—Andrews [Captain Caesar Andrews] and myself went into the Cantonment of Dinapore to look for quarters. We found the Cantonment a noble place which put us in mind of some public building at home. It is composed of two squares; the principal one just 750 yards long within the barracks. It is an oblong square—the one long side towards the south and west has a long range of soldiers' barracks of one story, capable of holding nearly 2,000 men. Facing the barracks on the opposite side are the officers' quarters; in the exact centre of which is the ruin of a very large house built for the Commandant, but now going to ruin, as Government does not think it worth while to repair it. Government have sold all the Officers' quarters, which are now let out for hire it being found to answer better to allow the officers house-rent than to keep up such large quarters at their expense. A Captain receives Rs. 90/- per month to find his own quarters which is very liberal. I hired very nice quarters for Rs. 60/-. It contains eight rooms with servants' houses and cook-houses attached. I soon got settled on shore and I now wrote to all my friends in England. We heard of peace being made with Scindiah, and Holkar is driven into the upper country. We have no prospect of moving soon. We like Dinapore but our men are getting unhealthy. We lost 15 men the first 14 days.

" The weather gets very cold and we are glad to shut up our houses and light a fire. Almost all the houses have one room with a fire-place in it. Dinapore is reckoned one of the cheapest places in India. We buy 12 small fowls for Re. 1, 3 or 4 large roasting fowls for the same, a lean sheep annas 12/- a quarter of fat mutton -/8/- butter oz. 40 per Re., eggs 100 per Re., and we have agreed with a gardener to furnish as many vegetables as we want for Rs. 4/- per month. Bread is 21 small loaves for a rupee. Servants are the greatest expense, mine amount to Rs. 115/- or £14-7-6 per month. My pay and allowance for a thirty day month is Rs. 506 or £63-5-0.

" On the 16th we were invited to dine with a Major Marsden who gave us ice at dinner, this is actually made at Dinapore.

" 1806, January—The weather got warm towards the end of the month. The trees in the Cantonments shed their leaves. A curious instance of the superstition of the natives happened. A money-changer I used to employ told me that his wife had a vision telling her it was necessary to go on a pilgrimage to the temple of Jaggernath which is by the sea in Orissa near the mouth of the Hugli. The husband and wife therefore set off at 12 hours notice on a journey which must take them 6 months. The end of this month is very cold and almost all the trees are without leaves.

" 1806, February—This month set in with rain—very cold which is

said to be unusual this time of the year. We began to have greater plenty of fowls and vegetables. Potatoes are as good as in England. The weather gets warm and we have frequently squalls of wind as the month advances which blow dust about. I remarked an assembly of swallows as in England. I don't recollect when I first observed them, but they are now very common. The trees begin to bud. I purchased 20 sheep—the best of the flock at 12 annas per sheep. I remembered that all the sheep here are black and nearly all the cows light-coloured approaching to white. The heat increases towards the end of the month and we are preparing for the hot winds to make what are called 'tatties' which are made of the roots of an odoriferous plant, something like a door-mat on a frame. With these we are to close the windows and doors on the north west side of the house. The mornings and evenings are getting very pleasant—they were formerly rather too cold.

" 1806, March—The month sets in with a few windy days, rather warm but it got cool again. The trees became beautifully green. The principal tree is the same which I once and only once met with in the West Indies and Weston told me it was a lilac, however, it appears to be the neem or melica. It is very common and had a pretty flower with a pleasant smell. On the 22nd Mr. Ricketts (12) the Collector of Behar, to whom we brought letters from Mrs. Dashwood in Calcutta, invited me to dine. He sent over an elephant for Dr. Groombridge and me and we boldly mounted on its back. The motion is very unpleasant. At Bankipore, 6 miles from Dinapore, is a large granary called a Gola. It is built like the dome of St. Paul's. It has never been used (13). It has so good an echo that it repeats 32 times and it acts exactly as the whispering gallery at St. Paul's. These are the Mohamedan holidays called Mohorrum to commemorate the death of Hussein, the son of Ali, who was starved in the desert. The highways and streets are full of wild-looking fellows all drunk, carrying banners and representations of tombs smiting their breasts and calling out in a lamentable voice—"Oh Hussein, Hussein!" The English soldiers and even the blacks when they speak English, call it "Hobson, Jobson" (14).

" 1806, April—Mr. Ricketts invited the whole family to spend a week at Bankipore, and we set off on the 6th in the bullock carriage, garden-chairs and palankeen. We met with much civility from Mr. Ricketts. He has a

(12) George Poyntz Ricketts (writer 1790) was Collector of Behar from 1801 to 1807. He died at Monghyr on April 20, 1815.

(13) It opens inwards!

(14) Mrs. Sherwood adds this comment: "No people in the world have a more effectual and complete way of vulgarising romance than the lower orders of English. To think that Hassan, the son of Fatima, the idolized, should have lived in such fame and have fallen so low as to be known by such a cognomen as Hobson. The name of Jobson is at the same time attached to his brother Hosain." The persistency with which the corruption survives (and develops with age) is illustrated by the following passage from Mr. S. M. Edwardes' "Crime in India" (p. 12), quoted in the *Indian Antiquary* for November, 1925: "In 1923 an illustrated daily paper in London referred to the Muharram as 'the Muhrami, a festival in London of Hobson-Jobson, the grandson of the Prophet.'"

number of men employed getting a kind of pebble just like Scotch pebble. They are found in the River Sone. The weather began to be very warm and all woodwork if not very well seasoned or covered with cloth cracks and warps astonishingly. We returned to Dinapore on the 12th. On the 20th a hot north-west wind blew but we were kept cool with the 'tatties'. On the 22nd the wind was easterly and not much of it except for about half an hour every day when we had violent north-west squalls. My old English writing-desk was so much contracted by the heat that it could not be opened.

"1806, May—During the month of May the people told us we were to have had hot winds so bad that we could not move out. However we were disappointed as the wind blew from the east with occasional squalls which brought on showers of rain.

"1806, June—It began to rain in showers on the 2nd and on the 6th it rained very violently. On the 9th I rode over to Bankipore to see Mr. Ricketts. The rains had been so heavy that we could scarcely get our horses over the road between the bridge and Bankipore. The poultry during the heats of April and May got swelled heads and died. The official order at length arrived for our proceeding by water to Berhampore as soon as boats could not collected. Mr. Ricketts was kind enough to hire me a 16 oared Budgerow. This is different from a pinnace in being flat-bottomed and rising high in the water is said to be more dangerous in windy weather but safer if it runs aground as it draws so little water. I am to pay the monthly wage of Rs. 6/- per oar and to take the boat for the trip. It has rained almost every day in June".

* * * * *

The journey of 308 miles to Berhampore took eight days and was not without danger. The river ran in "waves as high as the sea" and the budgerow rolled uncomfortably and perilously.

Mrs. Sherwood mention that the climate of Dinapore had altogether bleached her complexion: "I became pale and marble-like". The climate of Berhampore, a place of "hot relaxing damp", must have completed the process, for there the lips of the women and children became "perfectly white—as white as paper; the effect is frightful". She felt at the same time "a languor which makes everything a sore burden". The whole country "steamed like a brewing vat."

JULIAN JAMES COTTON.

APPENDIX.

BERHAMPORE IN 1805.

The sketch of Berhampore by James Moffat, which we reproduce on page 131, was drawn about the year 1805. Mrs. Ann Deane, whose *Account of a Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindostan*, comprising a period between the years 1804 and 1814, was published in London by C. and J. Rivington in 1823, visited Berhampore in 1805, and thus describes its departed glories (p. 274):

Berhampore contains besides a King's regiment of infantry, one or more battalions of seapoys, and is famous for sundry manufactures, which they bring to the boats for sale; such as stockings, silk handkerchiefs, etc. There are, besides, two shops kept by Englishmen which are well supplied with articles from England of all description, sold at the average of a rupee for a shilling. The officers' barracks are about two hundred yards inland. They are handsome, and regularly built, forming a square, one side of which fronts the river. The bank on which they stand is high, sloping, and turfed to the water's edge, with here and there a flight of stone steps for the accommodation of passengers. The parade runs along the edge of it. This station is commanded by a general officer.... From Berhampore the city of Moorshedabad is about seven hours' tracking [towing] although by land the distance is only seven miles.

In an earlier part of the book (p. 22) Mrs. Deane writes that "the Cantonment is surrounded by cultivation and kept in the highest order. The grass on the bank is constantly mowed and watered: and a broad gravel walk runs along the top." This is shown in the sketch.

Sir William Hope, of Balcomie.

A VICTIM OF THE PATNA MASSACRE OF 1763

A MEMORY OF THE PATNA MASSACRE OF 1763.

IN a corner of the old Patna cemetery, by the city dispensary, there stands a pillar upon which are inscribed the names of twenty eight servants of the East India Company " who, with many other captives, were, on the nights of the fifth or sixth, and the eleventh of October, 1763, brutally massacred near this spot by the troops of Mir Kasim, Nawab Subadar of Bengal, under command of Walter Reinhardt, alias Samru, a base renegade " (1). The obelisk is said to cover the well into which the bodies were thrown after the first massacre which took place in the house of Haji Ahmad, a brother of Ali Verdi Khan: and it is probable that the dispensary occupies part of the site of the house. The other English prisoners were murdered in the *Chalis Satoon* or hall of forty pillars, behind the Madrassah mosque—a building erected by Prince Azim-ush-Shan which has entirely disappeared.

The most famous of the victims was young Henry Lushington, who owed his escape from death in the Black Hole to the " refreshing draughts " which he drew from Holwell's shirt sleeves and who was afterwards employed to write the Loll Coggedge, or duplicate treaty on red paper at the foot of which Admiral Watson's name was forged, by order of Clive, for the deception of Omichund. The manner in which he and his companions met their death is related on a monument in the Parish Church at Eastbourne which was erected by his father, the Vicar (2).

Among those companions was Lieutenant Sir William Hope, Bart. Some difficulty has been experienced in the past in identifying him: and the information which the present writer is in a position to supply, is taken from a privately printed volume of Swinton Family Records which was compiled in 1908 (3). The common ancestress of the Swintons and the Hopes was Lady Mary Keith, who was twice married. By her second marriage with Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarony, she was the grandmother of Mary Semple who in her turn was the mother of Captain Archibald Swinton. Her

(1) The original pillar which was removed in 1880, bore no inscription. James Forbes records in his *Oriental Memoirs* (1813: Vol. IV, p. 90) that on September 22, 1785, he " rode over from Banquepore to Patna to view the monument erected in commemoration of the massacre in the year 1763 ordered by Cossim Ally Khan and executed by Samnoo " (*sic*). The monument, he wrote, stands near the house where the cruel deed was committed and is surrounded by an enclosure which forms the English burying-ground. " The column is in good style, but has neither an inscription nor any device explanatory of the purpose for which it was erected."

(2) See appendix for the inscription on the monument.

(3) The volume has been placed at the writer's disposal by Capt. G. S. C. Swinton, L. C. C., to whom his best thanks are due.



THE MEMORIAL OBELISK IN PATNA CEMETERY.



first husband was Sir James Hope of Hopetown: and of her two sons one became the first Earl of Hopetown. The younger, William, of Balcomie, who was born in 1660, was created a baronet in 1698, and appointed constable of Edinburgh Castle in 1700. He was one of the most accomplished cavaliers of his age: and died in 1724 of a fever brought on by dancing a minuet at an "assembly". The second baronet of Balcomie, Sir George Hope, was a captain in the Earl of Orkney's Royal Foot Regiment, and died in Ireland in 1729. He married Anne Mackenzie, daughter of Sir John Mackenzie, baronet, of Coul, in the year in which he succeeded to the baronetcy, and left two children, William and Helen.

William Hope, who thus became the third baronet, served for a time in the Navy, but subsequently took up a commission in His Majesty's Thirty-First Foot, from which he passed into the military service of the East India Company. He was one of the forty-eight who were murdered on the night of October 6, in Haji Ahmad's house. Samru, having deprived the prisoners of their knives and forks upon the pretence of inviting them to sup with him, surrounded the house with two companies of Sepoys. The rest of the story shall be told in the words of a letter written to the Council at Fort William from "Camp at Burrie" on October 18, 1763, by Major Thomas Adams, the hero of Udwanala:

One Assuck, consumah to Mr. Albright, who gives the most distinct Account, I intend to send down to Calcutta for your Examination. He says that twelve Days ago, at 7 o'clock in the evening our Gentlemen having drank Tea were acquainted by Mr. Ellis's servant that Someroo was arrived with some Seapoys, on which Mr. Ellis immediately ordered a chair to be brought for him, but instead of going to the Gentlemen, he sent away the Mogul who had charge of them and went into the cook room and gave orders to the servants who [were] getting supper ready, to be gone. He then sent for Messrs. Ellis (4) and Lushington who being acquainted he had private Business with them, immediately went to him and were instantly cut down: afterwards Messrs. Hay Lyon and Jones were sent for and despatched in the same Manner as were likewise Messrs. Chambers Amphlett and Gulston who were next sent for, with Mr. Smith, but he receiving a cut on the shoulder escaped into the Room and acquainted the Rest of the Gentlemen who defended themselves with Bottles and Plates (their Knives and Forks being taken from them after Dinner) and obliged the Seapoys to retire, who immediately loaded their pieces and shot

(4) William Ellis arrived in Bengal on July 16, 1749, and served as a volunteer in the Siege of Calcutta in 1756. He was then a factor and assistant in the Military Storekeeper's office. After the surrender of the Fort he fled to Fulta. Clive gave him a commission and he lost a leg in the skirmish of February 5, 1757 (General Letter to the Court of April 10, 1757). He was promoted to captain but obliged to sail for Europe. In 1759 he returned as member of Council and succeeded Peter Amyatt as Chief at Patna. (S. C. HILL.)

them; 25 were in Irons the above-mentioned Gentlemen with others amounting to 24 more were not in Irons. He adds that Capt. Wilson, Ensign Mackay, Dr. Campbell and five or six others were murdered at Chalisatoon where they were confined with Dr. Fullarton, who was the only Gentleman that was not put to Death. But that all the English Soldiers were yet alive (5).

Lady Hope, who is said to have been a Dutchwoman, took refuge in the Dutch factory at Patna with Dr. Fullarton and a soldier. She was with the party who evacuated the English Factory on June 20, and went up the river in boats as far as Chupra which was reached on June 29. They returned to Patna and surrendered to the Phousdar at Hajipore on July 2. He sent them down to Monghyr, from which place they were brought back to Patna on July 18 (6).

On April 27, 1764, "Lady Margaret Hope, widow" was married at Calcutta to William Lambert. She kept her title after marriage, like Lady Russell the widow of Sir Francis Russell, member of Council at Fort William who died in Calcutta in February 1743 (7). The following particulars regarding Lambert have been collected (8). He entered the Company's service about 1760 and from 1763 to 1766 was Military Paymaster General. In January 1767 he was clerk of the Court of Requests, and his name can be traced in the records of the Court of Chuterry. In 1766 we find him borrowing Rs. 51,188 at ten per cent. interest from "Kissen Chand Tacor, Sircar to the Store Keeper of the New Works." On February 1, 1768, he petitioned successfully for a passage to Europe for "Lady Hope" on the *Lord Elgin* Indiaman (Captain Thomas Cooke.) She died in England shortly after her arrival (but obviously not in 1766, as stated in the Swinton Records) and the estate of Balcomie was sold. Her husband remained in Bengal and was fourth on the Moorshedabad Council of Revenue in 1771: and his name can be seen in the old Chittagong Collectorate

(5) Lyon, John Chambers, Amphlett, Gulston (the Persian translator), and Smith were all covenanted servants of the Company. Their names are omitted from the inscription on the obelisk: and also that of Lieut. Jones. The narratives of Dr. Peter Campbell, Dr. Anderson, and Dr. William Fullarton were printed by the Calcutta Historical Society in 1909 ("The Diaries of the Three Surgeons of Patna").

James Philip Lyon was the second son of Thomas, eighth Earl of Strathmore. Mr. R. C. Sterndale the well-known Collector of Calcutta (who published a "History of the Calcutta Collectorate" in 1886), records that he met in Lower Bengal two old gentlemen—twin brothers—whose similarity of habits, voice, features and costume were a source of amusement to their acquaintances and who bore the distinctive family names of Thomas and Patrick Lyon. The elder claimed to be the rightful Earl of Strathmore. Another Thomas Lyon was the purchaser in October 1778 (on behalf of Richard Barwell) of the site of St. Anne's Church and the adjoining plot "for the purpose of erecting a range of buildings for the accommodation of the junior servants of the Company". These buildings are Writers' Buildings and the street which runs behind them on the north should be called Lyon's, and not Lyons', Range.

(6) Dr. Peter Campbell's Narrative.

(7) "Lady Ann Russel" married Thomas Holmes, Merchant, on November 30, 1774. She died at Fulta in 1786. Her house is shown in William Wills' map of the Settlement in 1763. It occupied the site of the Mission Church. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, p. 157.

(8) *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 510-511.

records as a member of the Board of Inspection. On February 6, 1772 he was appointed Chief at Dacca, and obtained a place in Council at Fort William. He left Dacca in August for Moorshedabad, "that place so much superior in point of climate", and then came to Calcutta. In 1774 he became chief at Dinajpore and died there on September 18 "at 8 A.M. after nine days' illness."

These details have been recalled because there is at Baraset near Calcutta, a ruined building which is connected with Lambert and his wife. It is mentioned by Alexander Mackrabie in his diary in February, 1776, when writing of the card playing at "Barasatt:".

Next morning such of us as were not too fatigued to leave our mattresses rode or walked to an Octagon Summer House built upon an eminence by the late Mr. Lambert who was the husband of Lady Hope. This is a pretty toy erected on an eminence and distant about a mile from Barasutt, with walks and flowering shrubs and garden. The ashes of that gentleman (for his body was burned by his particular direction) are deposited under the building.

The location of this summer house was fixed by Mr. Kedar Nath Dhar (9) by the following reference in an article entitled "Baraset, the Sandhurst of Bengal" (10) which appeared in the Calcutta Journal of July 7, 1907:

At a place about four miles to the north-east of the railway station is a big tank known as Madhumurali extending over 200 bighas of land. On the south-east corner of the tank, situated on its high bank, is a pillar about 20 feet high overgrown with jungle. Can this be the tomb of Mr. Louis Bonnaud, the indigo planter who is said to have had his factory here to the north-west of the tank? The remains of a building consisting of thirty or forty rooms also overgrown with rank vegetation, point to the site of the factory. On the south-west corner of the tank is an octagonal building measuring about fifteen feet and consisting of four doors, which served as the summer-house of the planters and is known as the hawakhana. The structure is about twenty feet high and is fast falling into ruin, the roof having already given away.

Mr. Tarak Chandra Roy, the present subdivisional officer of Baraset, to whom a copy was forwarded of this extract with a request for information regarding the present condition of these interesting buildings, has most courteously sent the following report, based on personal inspection:

The Madhumurali tank lies at a distance of about a mile and a half, and not four miles, from the Baraset railway station. The pillar stands at the north-west, and not at the south-east corner of the tank. The position of the octagonal building has been correctly given. The banks of the tank are overgrown with thick jungle,

(9) See his note in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, part I, pp. 261-262.

(10) Baraset was, until the year 1811, the seat of a college to which infantry cadets were sent upon arrival.

and it was necessary to cut paths in order to reach the monuments which are in ruins.

The octagonal building is about twenty feet high, as stated. The roof has fallen in, and the floor is covered with vegetation. There are four high doors, over each of which is a triangular pediment. The plastering on the walls has almost entirely gone. The bricks are about half an inch thick.

The pillar is also about twenty feet high and is placed upon a pedestal about four feet high, in this case also the plastering has almost entirely gone.

Close to the tank on the north was an indigo factory, but no trace of it now remains. The structure has been pulled down, and the bricks sold.

There is no inscription upon either of the monuments. I looked for any stone slabs which might have fallen off, but found none.

Mr. Roy mentions the tradition that the pillar covers the grave of an indigo-planter: and adds that the *hawakhana* or octagon, is known locally as the summer-house of Mr. Lambert.

We reproduce photographs of the nameless pillar and the octagon which were taken by Mr. C. F. Hooper in 1908. Our illustration of the monument at Patna is from a photograph by Mr. P. A. Selfe.

H. E. A. C.

APPENDIX.

THE LUSHINGTON MONUMENT IN EASTBOURNE CHURCH.

In the Parish Church at Eastbourne, which must be looked for in the Old Town, a large and imposing monument may be seen in the south aisle which bears the following inscription:

Sacred to the Memory of HENRY LUSHINGTON/eldest son of HENRY LUSHINGTON, D.D., Vicar of this Parish/and MARY his wife./whose singular Merits and as singular Sufferings/cannot fail of endearing him to ye Latest Posterity. At ye age of Sixteen in ye Year 1754/He embarked for Bengal in ye Service of ye East India Company and/by attaining a perfect knowledge of the Persian Language made Himself essentially useful. It is difficult to/determine whether He excelled more in a civil or a military capacity. His Activity in Both/recommended Him to Lord CLIVE; Whom with equal Credit to/Himself and Satisfaction to His Patron He served in ye different Characters of/Secretary, Interpreter and Commissary. In ye Year 1756 by a melancholy Revolution He was with many Others/to the amount of 146 forced into a Dungeon at CALCUTTA so small that 23 only escaped Suffocation. He was/One of ye Survivors but

reserved for greater Misery, for by a Subsequent Revolution in ye Year 1763/He was with 200 more taken Prisoners at PATNA and after tedious Confinement being singled out with WILLIAM ELLIS and/WILLIAM HAY, Esqrs. was by ye Orders of Nabob COSSIM ALLY KHAWN and under ye Direction of one SOME ROO/an Apostate European, deliberately and inhumanly murdered. But while ye Seapoys were performing their Savage Office/upon ye first mentioned Gentleman, fired with a generous Indignation at ye Distress of his Friend,/He rushed upon his Assassins unarmed, and seizing one of their Scimitars, Killed Three of them and Wounded Two Others/till at length oppressed with Numbers He greatly fell./His Private character was perfectly consistent with his Publick One. The amiable/Sweetness of his disposition attached Men of ye Worthiest Note to Him, the Integrity of His Heart fixed Them for ever/firm to His Interests. As a Son He was one of ye most Kind and Dutiful, as a Brother ye most Affectionate./His Generosity Towards His Family was such as hardly to be Equal'd, his Circumstances and His Age/considered, scarce to be Exceeded. In short he lived and died an Honour to His Name, His Friends, and His Country./His Race was short (being only 26 Years of Age when He died) but truly glorious./The rising Generation must admire, may they imitate, so Bright an Example./His Parents have erected this Monument as a lasting Testimony/of Their Affliction and of His Virtues.

A bust and coat of arms surmount the monument which was removed from the north chancel aisle to its present position in 1908. Dr. Lushington, the father who was vicar of the parish from 1734 until his death in 1779, is buried with his first wife under the floor of the sanctuary, and the inscription on the tomb records that "He was Father/of/HENRY LUSHINGTON of Bengal/and of/Seven other deservedly beloved children." His third son Stephen was a Director of the East India Company from 1782 to 1802, deputy chairman in 1789 and 1798, and chairman in 1790, 1795, and 1799. He was M.P. for Helston and Penrhyn, was created a baronet in 1791, and died in 1807. Another son, William, was in the Bengal Civil Service and married Paulina French on March 28, 1769. He was Persian Interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief in 1764, and Supervisor of Hooghly in 1771. On October 31, 1773, he resigned the Service and entered Parliament. A daughter, Charlotte, married on November 22, 1762, Ralph Leycester one of the Civil Servants who came to loggerheads with Clive during his second administration of Bengal.

The home of the Lushingtons at Eastbourne was acquired by the corporation in 1924 for use as a municipal art gallery. It is known as the Manor House and stands close to the Parish Church Built by Dr. Lushington himself, in the form of a rectangle, it is a perfect specimen of Georgian architecture.

Memories of the Supreme Court: 1774-1862.

SOME NOTES ON BENCH AND BAR.

THE Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal was constituted by the Charter of March 26, 1774, and the first Chief Justice and Judges appointed thereunder were Sir Elijah Impey, and Robert Chambers, Stephen Caesar Lemaistre, and John Hyde, Esquires: who arrived in the *Earl of Ashburnham* off Kedgerree on October 14, 1774. They took their seats on October 22, 1774, at the Old Court House (which stood on the site of the present St. Andrew's Kirk) and appointed the following officers: Master and Accountant General (jointly), William Magee and Richardson McVeagh (the latter died on September 28, 1785): Equity Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Registrar, Charles Sealy: Keeper of the Records, William Magee: Clerk of the Crown, Thomas Bowker: Prothonotary, Edward Shrimpton: Examiner, John Mills: Sworn Clerks, William Inge and Charles Newman: Clerk of the Papers and Clerk of the Depositions (jointly), Richard Litchfield and Thomas North Naylor (afterwards Company's Attorney): Sealer, James Pritchard (succeeded on November 30 by Archibald Fraser, a nephew of Impey). On June 11, 1776, William Chambers, the brother of Sir Robert, was appointed Interpreter (1).

The Judges found themselves in difficulties at the outset in the matter of accommodation. The Public Proceedings of November 21, 1774 contain a copy of a letter from the Supreme Court asking for "a commodious Court-House", and also enquiring at what rate of exchange their salaries are to be paid. The Board replied in a letter dated the same day stating their resolution to pay the salaries of the Judges at the rate of two shillings to the rupee, being an average between the fluctuation of 1s. 9d. and $2/2\frac{1}{2}$; and in a further letter of the same date, they wrote that the Company had no house or building fit for use as a Supreme Court.

The room you mention being a part of the house which we have for sometime rented from the vestry of the Church of St. John for the accommodation of the Mayor's Court, we propose continuing the rent of the house in like manner for your use till such time as the circumstances of the Company will permit them to provide you with a more suitable and permanent accommodation.

(1) William Chambers came out to Madras as a writer in 1765 (senior merchant, 1770): and was brought to Bengal by his brother. He became Master and Accountant General on June 16, 1779, Keeper of the Records on October 24, 1785, Prothonotary on March 1, 1792, and died in Calcutta on August 22, 1793.

The building in question (as already stated) was the Old Court House, which stood on the site of St. Andrew's Kirk.

On December 21, 1774 the Judges again addressed the Governor-General on the subject of a new Court House, expressing concern at the Board's reply that there was no house or building fit for the purpose, and still more "at the undefined period that will elapse before one is provided". They trust that "when the finances of the Company shall be in a state to enable you to follow the instructions in the said paragraph (2) of providing room proper for the King's Court you will no longer suffer it to sit in a place which you join with us in thinking unsuitable to its dignity." They ask for a building containing 21 rooms (3); and they comment in particular upon the necessity of an upper apartment for the custody of records, "which have hitherto been so ill-kept that the indictments and convictions of some persons now said to be under sentence of death are not to be found." They represent, further, that they must have "unembarrassed possession" of a whole house, that they may not be dispossessed at the end of any one month at the will of the Vestry of St. John's, and that the house should be in good repair. The letter concludes:

It is with concern we see you reduced to the necessity of appropriating to us those apartments which had been before dedicated to the innocent amusement of the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Settlement, but desire that the invidious task of dispossessing them or the other tenants of that house may be removed from us (4).

The reference to "other tenants" is explained by a claim made by the Free-masons to two rooms in the Old Court House (5). The Free-masons protested to the Judges against the order to remove their paraphernalia: "We beg leave to represent your Lordships that the whole front of the verandah, the two backwings, and all the upper part of the Court house were built by the private subscriptions of the inhabitants of Calcutta." They declare that the repairs have been carried out by the same method and

(2) Paragraphs 30 and 31 of the Directors' letter, which had been sent to the Judges on November 3.

(3) The "several apartments" declared to be necessary for the accommodation of the Judges were; one room for the sitting of the Court, one room for each Judge, one room for the Sheriff, one room for the Clerk of the Crown, one room for the Prothonotary, one room for the Keeper of the Records, one room for the Accountant General, one for the clerk of the Indictments, one for the Court keeper, one for each Master, and various rooms for clerks and writers, making 21 rooms in all.

(4) The upper floor of the Court House was used for public entertainments. Stavorinus, who visited Calcutta in 1770, mentions the "two handsome assembly rooms over the Court House." In one of these "are hung up the portraits of the King of France and of the late Queen, as large as life, which were brought up by the English from Chandernagore, when they took the place," (in 1756). When the Court House was demolished in 1792, these pictures found their way to Government House and are now at Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

(5) P. P. O. C. No. 13, December 28, 1774 (letter from Samuel Middleton, Provincial Grand Master). I am indebted to Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham for calling attention to these records and for transcribing them.

that the Company have no right to the use of the upper part. They maintain that they are entitled to the use of the two rooms and the whole upper part of the building "on the occasion of their festival when they commonly give a Ball", and they end by hoping that the Judges will not "lay any obstacle in the way of our assembling as usual in a house to the construction and repairs of which many of us have contributed."

A similar protest was entered by Mr. Charles Weston, clerk of the Vestry of St. John's, who, in a letter dated February 1, 1775, wrote that "the Vestry conceive that the public cannot be precluded from enjoying the benefits, which their subscriptions are obviously calculated to secure". Nevertheless, they were anxious and willing to retain the Company as a tenant: and with that announcement the other differences would appear to have been composed, for the Judges continue to sit at the Old Court House for the next seven years. Their Lordships observed great state. On October 25, 1779, we find this entry in Hyde's notebook (6):

I came to Court in my scarlet robe to-day, because it is the day of the King's accession and is therefore treated by the Courts of Law in England as a gala day, to appear in their finest clothes.

Full-bottomed wigs and scarlet robes were worn during the trial of Nuncomar which took place in June 1775: and the story is well known that the Judges "retired three or four times daily to change their linen".

Before settling down, however, the Judges made an attempt to escape from the Old Court House. Mr. Archibald Keir offered his house for their use: if taken on lease he required seventeen hundred Arcot rupees a month or "if all the godowns are included, two thousand Arcot rupees a month". This would appear to be the building on the Esplanade of which Warren Hastings makes mention in a minute of February 1775, wherein he states that after his succession to the Governorship in 1772, the offices of Government were removed from the Old Council House to "Mr. Keir's house which was rented to the Company for Rs. 1,000 a month." The house proved to be insufficient and inconvenient: and presumably was again on the market. Hastings seems to have sympathized with the Judges, for he moved in Council that a house should be hired, and a plan of a new building submitted to the Directors. But the Council took alarm at the estimate of Lieut.-Colonel John Fortnom, the Company's Chief Engineer, to improve Mr. Keir's house

(6) Extracts from Hyde's Note-books, which are preserved in the Bar Library at the High Court, were published in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1909 (Vol. III, pp. 27-64). These note-books appear to have found their way to the Bar Library during the Chief Justiceship of Sir Edward Ryan (1833-1841). Sir Robert Chambers took charge of them on Hyde's death in 1796, and his wife presented them to his nephew, Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, upon his appointment to a puisne judgeship at Bombay in 1824. Upon his death in 1828 they reverted to Lady Chambers who made them over to Sir William Oldnall Russell (C.J. 1832-1833): and from him they passed into the custody of his successor, Sir Edward Ryan. In 1836 the Chief Justice and Judges placed certain records at the disposal of the members of the Bar Library: and the note-books would seem to have been among them. There are no less than seventy-three volumes: fifty-nine in fair copy dating from 1775 to 1796, and fourteen of rough notes from 1780 to 1794.

at a cost of sixty thousand Arcot rupees and forbid any alteration to be made. Colonel Fortnom reported this decision to Sir Elijah Impey in a letter dated July 21, 1775, and an indignant reply was sent on July 24 by the Chief Justice on behalf of the Judges.

The letter is so illustrative of the discomforts under which justice was administered in the early days of the Supreme Court that we give it in full:

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

Colonel Fortnom has sent to the Chief Justice a letter informing us that he is forbid by your Secretary to make any additions to Mr. Keir's house, a copy of which letter we enclose. It was far from our intent, wishes, or thoughts to put the Company to so great expense for a temporary provision as we understand the Colonel's estimate for putting Mr. Keir's house in a proper state for the reception of the Court and its officers amounts to. Though it was hired without our privity we accepted it on your kind proposal meaning to consult the convenience of the Company. We did it without surveying it, in full confidence that it was, or would be made, proper for the uses to which it was appropriated, and relying on your performance of the orders you had received from the Hon'ble Court of Directors to provide us with a proper Court and offices, which orders you had done us the honour to communicate to us by yours of the third of November last. We have now had in a sultry damp season and a crowded Court the experience of long causes on which we have sat for many weeks successively not less than fourteen hours in a day and often longer. How much the health of some of us has been impaired by so severe an attendance is universally known, and it is the firm belief of every one of us that if we had been obliged to sit in the room now assigned to us, few of the judges, jury, counsels, or such as were obliged to attend could have survived it. It cannot therefore be expected, at so manifest a danger to our constitutions and lives, that we should think of holding the Court in that room, in which, without additions are made to it, we cannot sit safely in a season like this, if causes of the like nature with those which we have lately tried should be again brought before us, and in an house which can by no possibility receive our officers. If offices are provided or proper allowances made to our officers in lieu of them, we shall be content (inconvenient as it is from want of retiring rooms and from the purpose to which it is at present applied) to remain in this house we at present sit in, until such time as we shall become suitably provided for. Large as the salaries which have been allowed to the officers may seem, we do unanimously think that none of our officers have more than a suitable maintenance, that had they been on one third less, most of them would have been in a state

of absolute indigence, and that, as it is at present, some of them could hardly subsist were they not entertained in our houses. They have derived very small advantage from us, the greatest part of our business having been in the original department of the Court. We are sorry we have so much reason to complain of the great hardship due to our officers, the great disgrace put upon us and slight to the King's Court by the Governor-General in Council having rejected our repeated applications and at last having absolutely refused to provide offices for the Court, notwithstanding they have received the express orders of the Court of Directors to provide us a proper Court and offices, and notwithstanding that by the late Act of Parliament they are directed and required to pay due obedience to all such orders as they shall receive from the Court of Directors.

FORT WILLIAM, }
24th July, 1775. }

We are, Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,
Your humble servants,
(Sd.) E. IMPEY.

The Judges' purgatory lasted until 1782 when they sat for the first time (as Hyde records) on January 2 "at the New Court House. The New Court House which has been taken by the Company at the monthly rent of Rs. 2,500". This New Court House "is near Chandpaul Ghaut and is near the road which bounds the Esplanade on one side." It so happened that it was the identical house belonging to Mr. Archibald Keir which the Council had declined to provide in 1775: and considerable repairs and additions must have been effected, for Sir Elijah Impey was living there with his family when "Bob Pott" took William Hickey in his carriage to be re-admitted as an attorney in July, 1783. It was, according to Hickey, "a noble pile of buildings close to the edge of the river at Chandpaul Ghaut" (Vol. III, p. 144). As a matter of fact, it was more imposing inside than out, and there were some who did not scruple to say that "there was not in the whole town a meaner building externally" (7). On the upper floor was the Grand Jury Room and downstairs was the Court Room where their Lordships sat.

Upon the career of Impey it is unnecessary to dwell (8); and of Chambers, who succeeded him as Chief Justice, something will be said on a later page. Regarding their colleagues, a word or two may profitably be put upon record in this place.

(7) Lord Wellesley, in a statement dated April 1, 1801, and attached to the Governor-General's Proceedings of the same date, provides for a sum of sicca rupees 80,000 for the "purchase of the Court House including a new building for the Records" and a further sum of sicca rupees 18,000 for "repairs computed at 2 per cent. for 13 years." (See Lord Curzon's book, Vol. I, p. 53).

(8) A number of details will be found in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 44, 47, 50.

Lemaistre had been Recorder of Rochester before coming to Calcutta, and there were those who said that he owed his judgeship to the fact of his being a protégé of the notorious Lord Sandwich. His life in India was of short duration.

1777, October 27th. Mr. Justice Lemaistre was absent this day, and every day this term (except the first day), he being now very ill, and having been ill here and at Garretty (9) above a month past.

November 6th (10). At half an hour after five in the afternoon he died, at his own house called the Wilderness, otherwise May's Gardens, within the limits of Calcutta, which is the Marratha Ditch. He was buried the same day at midnight. By order of the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor-General, minute-guns were fired the time of his funeral: thirty-nine guns, as I told Captain Palmer, who was sent to me by Mr. Hastings to say that he would show all possible respect, that thirty-nine was my brother Lemaistre's age.

Such is the record left in the Note-books of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Hyde. Lemaistre seems to have been a jovial soul. On the voyage out the Councillors, who were on board the *Anson*, took advantage of a calm to visit the Judges on the *Ashburnham*. "Judge Lemaistre kept the table on a roar for several hours," wrote Mackrabie, the brother-in-law and private secretary of Francis, with whom he had many a game of cards. Withal, he was a man of character. "Hyde is absolutely under the management of Lemaistre," complained Impey to Thurlow. He left his wife at home. She was the daughter of James Roche, of Dublin, and sister of Captain David Roche, known as "Tyger Roche", who killed Captain Ferguson in a scuffle at Cape Town and whom Philip Dormer Stanhope found marooned on the island of Johanna in July 1773.

Lemaistre appears to have lived in Calcutta in a house in what is now Free School Street, but was then a bamboo jungle, along which people were afraid to pass by night. The site is said to be occupied by the building, associated for so many years with the Free School. It was here that the famous charge of forgery against Nuncomar was exhibited before him. He at once requested the attendance of his brother Hyde (11) who remained with him the whole day until ten o'clock at night, "when no doubt remaining in the breast of either of us upon the evidence on the part of the Crown", a commitment was made. Representations were made that Nuncomar, being

(9) Ghiretty or Gyretty was the famous country house built on the ruins of the Palace of Duplex and described by Grandpré (1789) as the finest building in India. To-day it is merely a heap of crumbling stones lost in jungle.

(10) The date of burial is given as November 4 in the register of St. John's Church. The grave in South Park Street cemetery is close to that of the Reverend Thomas Yate. For many years it bore no inscription: but a tablet was affixed in 1909 by the Government of Bengal at the request of the Calcutta Historical Society.

(11) Lemaistre and Hyde acted in their capacity of Justices of the Peace.

"a person of very high rank and of the cast of Bramins", should not be confined in the common jail. Whereupon their lordships waited upon the Chief Justice, to obtain the benefit of his advice, with the result that the following message was sent to the Under-Sheriff, Mr. Samuel Tolfrey: "Upon consultation with the Lord Chief Justice, we are all clearly of opinion that the Sheriff (12) ought to confine his prisoner in the common jail upon this occasion.—S. C. Lemaistre". The vacancy among the judges caused by Lemaistre's death remained unfilled until 1783, when Sir William Jones was appointed.

It is strange to find that John Hyde is uncommemorated in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. But his massive tomb in the South Park Street cemetery, with its lengthy inscription, should be well known to all citizens of Calcutta. It is not far from the obelisk of Sir William Jones, who preceded him by two years. Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., who has been examining the volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1810, (Vol. 80), has discovered the writer of the inscription. A correspondent, who styles himself "Asiaticus P.W." writes to "Mr. Urban" (page 204):

A very elegant Memorial of a pyramidal form executed by Mr. Myers has been erected (by order of the executors) to the memory of the late Honourable John Hyde at the new burying ground, Calcutta. The inscription well deserves a place in your lasting pages: it was written by Mr. Thomas Scott, one of the Masters of Chancery in Bengal, and was some time since placed on a large tablet at the base of the pyramid. It is usual to create every Judge of the Supreme Court of Bengal a Knight, but Mr. Hyde declined the honour (13).

Hyde's hospitality was unbounded: and he appears to have enjoyed a good dinner, for he figures as "Turkey Cram" in James Augustus Hickey's scurrilous *Bengal Gazette*. The other Hickey, William, mentions his weekly musical parties, at which Mrs. Hyde was a principal performer: and tells

(12) The Sheriff was Alexander Mackrabie who was appointed in December 1774, by a majority of the Council—Clavering, Monson & Francis voting for him, and Hastings and Barwell for William Swainston.

(13) The inscription is then reproduced: "Sacred to the Memory of/The Hon. John Hyde, Esq./who was appointed one of the Puisne Judges/on the establishment of the Supreme Court/at Calcutta in the year 1774;/And died, after faithfully and ably discharging the duties of that high station/for a period of above twenty-one years, aged 59,/On the 8th of July, 1796./He was an affectionate husband; a fond parent;/Of unquestioned integrity as a Judge;/And a truly virtuous man./His loss was deeply and honorably regretted/by that community which had/long respected his virtues; And the/public records of his Government/declare him to have been a Magistrate/Whose integrity in the discharge of his/public functions/Was only equalled by the virtues/of his private character: Social, yet dignified, he commanded at once/the affections and reverence/of the wide/extended circle honored/ by a participation of his hospitalities:/but his noblest eulogium will be found/in the lasting regrets of a long list/of unfortunate persons,/ whose indigent condition/By his advice, protection, and munificence/his life was one continued study to meliorate,/And must forever regard him/As a departed model of unexampled,/Yet cautiously concealed, charity:/The practical extent of which/could alone be exceeded/By the boundless benevolence/and generosity of his mind."

us also that he gave a breakfast on the opening day of each Term, after which Judges and counsel and attorneys marched in procession to Court. Hyde's house stood on the site of the present Town Hall (14).

Sir John Day, the first Advocate-General of Bengal, was appointed by the Court of Directors on a salary of £3,000 a year.

He came out some considerable time after the Judges, for he was knighted in September, 1777, a circumstance which gave rise to George Selwyn's witticism: "By God, this is out-Heroding Herod. Until this moment I could not have believed that the King could turn Day into Knight and make a Lady Day at Michaelmas." The records of the Government of India show that he arrived at Fort Saint George on board the *Lord North* Indiaman on February 8, 1778: and that he remained there, drawing his full salary, for nearly nine months in order to advise and assist Thomas Rumbold, the newly arrived Governor and Council of that Presidency in the conduct of certain enquiries committed to their charge by the Hon'ble Court of Directors (15). On February 5, 1779 Day arrived at Cudjaree (Kedgerie) from Madras in the *Southampton* after a voyage of more than twelve weeks, and from that place he addressed the Governor-General in Council intimating his arrival there and expressing his desire to pay his respects in person on the Sunday following (16).

Shortly before Day left England he married Benedetta Ramus, the daughter of Nicholas Ramus, head page to the King. William Hickey (Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 301), declares that the Advocate-General and his wife were well matched, "both being full of vanity and pompous folly", and that the paternal uncle of Lady Day was "a respectable cheesemonger at Charing Cross, and purveyor of that useful domestic article to His Majesty, as announced upon the sign of a Cheshire cheese placed over the door". However this may be, Lady Day was, as a matter of fact, a great beauty, and was painted both by Romney and by Gainsborough and also, as we shall see presently, by Zoffany. A copy (published in 1779) of Dickinson's engraving of the Romney portrait is in the print room at the British Museum. The picture by Gainsborough (painted in 1775) repre-

(14) Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., writes: Among the books offered for sale [in July, 1925] by Mr. G. H. Last, bookseller, of 25 The Broadway, Bombay, Kent, is an octavo Greek and Latin New Testament in two volumes, bound in purple morocco with elaborately gilt tooled sides, which contains the autograph of John Hyde with the date 1774. It was bought for Sir Robert Chambers at the sale of Hyde's books in August, 1796. The price asked by Mr. Last was fifteen shillings.

(15) Home Dept. Pub. 1778, 23 Mar. No. 2. The questions for enquiry related, inter alia, to the nature of Paul Benfield's claims against the Nawab of the Carnatic, and the complicity of the Nawab in the deposition of Lord Pigot. Day brought out with him as secretary Stephen Popham, a solicitor and a former member of the Irish Parliament: but they quarrelled, and Popham remained behind at Madras, where he became Company's Attorney, and constructed "Popham's Broadway" in Black Town. There are several references to Popham in Hickey's Memoirs (see Vol. III). Mrs. Fay stayed with him in 1780, and Hickey in 1783.

(16) Home Dept. Pub. 1779, 8 Feb. No. 11. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, the Keeper of the Imperial Records, has been good enough to supply both this reference and the preceding one.

sents her with her sister, the Baronne de Noailles. It was sold for 6,300 guineas in 1873 and 9,500 guineas in 1887.

Hickey asserts that Day was no lawyer: but Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, who has examined the records of the period, has arrived at a very different conclusion (17):

Day is first mentioned in the minutes of the Governor-General's Proceedings for February 17, 1779, where his opinion was sought in a case where the Dacca Provincial Council had come into conflict with the Supreme Court. He also advised Government in the case of Gora Chand Dutt versus William Hosea (18) the Superintendent of the Moorshedabad Court of Dewanny Adawlut. The Governor-General's Proceedings during the year 1779 are full of resolutions to submit matters for the opinion of the Advocate-General, especially in the famous Patna and Kasijora cases. These opinions which are all signed by Sir John Day, reveal unmistakable sympathy with the difficulties of the Company's officials, and a conviction that the English constitution was by no means the most desirable one, unmodified, for India. In fact, they show Sir John Day to be a worthy first holder of his distinguished office.

Sir John Day was not enrolled as an advocate and never practised before the Court. According to Hickey, he claimed the right, which the Judges refused to concede, to appear and plead whenever he pleased without taking the customary oaths (Vol. III, p. 300). The statement is borne out by the records. On July 6, 1779, Day addressed a lengthy letter to "The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esqr., Governor-General and the Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William", in which he requested that his attendance in court might "in the present state of things be dispensed with" (19).

The Company's leading motive for creating the Office to which they have done me the Honor to call me, was, that this Government might have a Law adviser, bound to the interest and acting under the Authority of the Company, to whom in the following among other instances they might find it necessary to resort for Advice and Assistance. When I shall have stated them, it will rest with the Board to judge, whether a vigilant, active, faithful, and spirited exertion, as often as they shall occur, does not promise to furnish abundant Employment for one Man.

After citing a number of instances, Day informs the Board that as "the Company may perhaps have meant that their Officer should be their Pleader

(17) Letter in the *Statesman* of June 18, 1925.

(18) Hosea with his wife and child and the young son of Sir Robert Chambers, perished in the wreck of the *Grosvenor* off the coast of Africa in August, 1782.

(19) The letter is in the Record-room of the Government of Bengal: and thanks are due to Mr. C. W. Gurner, I.C.S., for furnishing the transcript from which the extracts are taken.

as well as their adviser", he applied for Letters Patent from the Crown "in order to establish my rank in Court." A doubt had, however, arisen upon the construction of the Letters, which he begged leave to state.

I have the misfortune to think differently from the Judges with respect to the footing upon which my right to appear and Plead in that Court shall stand. They acknowledge no mode of admission of Advocates but that contained in the Charter of Justice; in the particular situation in which I stand, I can submit to none but their allowance of his Majesty's Letters Patent, according to the mandate upon the Face of them, because (among other reasons) the contrary were an admission, that there resides a Power in that Court to defeat the Grant of the Crown, and determine that the Grantee shall take nothing by it, a matter to which, in as much as I cannot persuade myself that under the Powers given them by the Charter they are competent, I cannot therefore acquiesce in a Doctrine which tends (by rendering them useless and nugatory) to dishonor the King's Letters Patent in my hands.

In reply to this letter, the Governor-General in Council directed their Secretary to acquaint the Advocate-General that "while the Board have given due attention to his objections against his personal attendance in Court, they think it indispensably necessary that his right of pleading in the Court should be asserted and secured:" and that "they therefore are of opinion, and do require that he make his application to the Court for that purpose, in such form as he shall judge most proper and as early as he conveniently can." To this it may be added that Sir Elijah Impey wrote to Day on July 13, 1779, informing him that the Judges were unanimous in admitting him to act as an advocate. But it would seem that Day refused either to avail himself of this invitation or to obey the peremptory order of the Board. His name is not to be found on the roll of advocates, and in a series of cases in Morton's Reports, which range from 1778 to 1782, Newman and Davies are designated as Advocate General—an office which Newman never held and which Davies received in the year 1786 (20).

Day returned to England on the *Resolution* in January, 1786. A long account is given by Hickey of the practical joke which Captain Mercer the Commander, played upon him on board by telling him that the King had

(20) According to Morton's Reports, Newman who is there described as Advocate General, appeared in 1778 for the defence in *Gower Hurry Polder vs. Tillock Seal*. In 1779 "Newman A. G. for the plaintiff moved" to put off the trial in *G. F. Grand vs. Philip Francis*. In October 1780 "Newman A. G. moved that the appointment of Mr. Tolfrey to be the Company's Attorney might be entered on the record": and in March 1781 "Newman A. G." moved the Court "in the matter of C. Webb." In November 1781 "Davies A. G. appeared for the Caveator" in the goods of *Rajah Nundcoomar*. In 1783 "Davies A. G." appeared for the plaintiff in *East India Company vs. Robert Harris*; in 1783 under the same designation for the plaintiff in *Doe dem. Ramanath Tagore vs. Robert Home*: and in 1785, again as A. G. for *Lieut. Macleod in the goods of Martin*. (See letter from Mr. S. R. Das, the late Advocate-General, in the *Statesman* of June 30, 1925). Thomas Charles Morton, the compiler of the reports, was admitted as an advocate on October 23, 1837.

made him a peer and appointed him to be Governor-General. Hickey adds that he did not survive his return for more than two years: but he is contradicted in this respect by two entries in the Farington Diary. On October 14, 1802, Farington went down to Brighton and writes: "The Prince (of Wales) is much about riding and walking. His established companions are Admiral Payne, Trevies the Jew (21) Day who was formerly in India, and Cole Coningham.—When the Prince is invited to dine out at Brighton, it is usual to ask these persons also." Again on June 19, 1808, we read:

R. Price's I dined at.—We talked of the death of Sir John Day, late Advocate General of Bengal. Price sd. he resided at Richmond and towards the latter part of His life was possessed with an apprehension that He should die poor and in a work House. He pined over the loss of £20,000 owing to Him by the Nabob of Oude, whose debts the India Company refused to pay. He still was able to live handsomely and for many years kept a coach, etc. He was rather pompous in his manner. To this account I added a remark on the change in His character. I remembered him abt. the year 1772 a gay voluptuary in the Temple, remarkable for his festive disposition and for singing a good Bonvivant song. He married Miss Ramus, who Price sd. is a very agreeable woman of about 61 or 2 years of age.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* announces his death in June, 1808: "At Richmond Surrey aged 70 Sir John Day late Advocate-General of Bengal, descended from a respectable family settled in Ireland at the beginning of the 17th century": and pays the following tribute to departed worth:

Sir John Day was a man of distinguished abilities and disinterested integrity, firmly attached to his King and Country: his character was not less amiable in private life than irreproachable in public. His studies were not merely professional but extended throughout the various branches of polite literature and useful knowledge: his conversation was animated and benevolent. In his youth he was intimately acquainted with George Lord Lyttelton, Garrick, Goldsmith and many others of the literary world; and his death will be lamented by a numerous circle of friends to whom he was endeared by every social charm of unaffected hospitality. He married the eldest daughter of Nicholas Ramus, Esq., and she is left to deplore the loss of a truly affectionate and beloved husband.

William Hickey, the writer of the Memoirs, "took the usual oaths and became Solicitor, Attorney and Proctor of the Supreme Court" on November 13, 1777 (Vol. II, p. 130). He

(21) Was this the father of Pellegrine Treves, (writer 1784) who died at Lucknow on August 23, 1825? Cornwallis has left it on record that the Prince of Wales wrote out to him and asked that "a black named Allii Cawn" (Ali Ibrahim Khan) who was chief criminal judge at Benares, might be displaced "to make room for a youth named Pellegrine Treves, son of a notorious London money lender".

was struck off the rolls during his absence in England from 1779 to 1783: and was re-admitted on his return in July 1783 after some preliminary difficulty with Impey (Vol. III, pp. 143-145).

Of his fellow-attorneys in 1777, he gives an unflattering account (Vol. II, p. 138). "I was soon distinguished", he writes, "by the title of the 'Gentleman Attorney', in contradistinction to the blackguard practitioners, of which description I am sorry to say there were several. In fact, with the exception of Messrs. Tolfrey, and Nailor, Foxcroft, Johnson, Jarrett (who was solicitor to the Company), and Smoult, I never met any attorneys in the company I kept which always was the best." William Smoult and William Johnson came out in the same ship with the Judges, and "under the protection of Sir Robert Chambers", who obtained offices for them under the Supreme Court (22). Smoult ultimately became Sealer and Johnson (who married the widow of Colonel Tolly of Tolly's Nullah) Clerk of the Crown.

Hickey mentions two attorneys of the name of Tolfrey. Samuel was under-sheriff to Mackrabie in 1775 and was the partner of Thomas North Naylor who came into conflict as Company's solicitor, with the Judges over the Kasijora case and was committed for contempt. Naylor died from the effects of his imprisonment on August 16, 1780 (23). Tolfrey was more fortunate. We read in Hickey's *Bengal Gazette* on December 2, 1790 that "Samuel Tolfrey Esq., has embarked for Europe with a fortune of 3 lacs of rupees: he intends proceeding from Colon [Quilon] or Coringa in the Dutch ship that carries home Mrs. G—d [Grand]". The other Tolfrey, Stackhouse, is mentioned by William Hickey in 1778 (Vol. II, p. 158) as "a fine lad, then a clerk of mine", whom George Francis Grand persuaded to commence the *crim. con.* action against Francis. There are numerous references to him in the third volume: and finally, we learn (Vol. III, p. 326) that "having acquired an independent fortune he took a passage for himself and his handsome wife on board one of the Company's ships and early in the month of December (1787) they sailed for England." The "handsome wife" was Gertrude Messinck, a daughter of Bernard Messinck (24), whom he had married on April 21, 1785, and whom Hickey describes as "one of the most beautiful young women of Bengal."

In 1778, Richard Jarrett, whom Naylor succeeded as Company's solicitor, embarked in the *Ceres* for Europe (Hickey, Vol. II, p. 143). He had acted as attorney for Nuncomar. George Foxcroft was Hastings'

(22) The Judges inform the Governor-General in Council on November 20, 1774 that "we have brought with us from England gentlemen of character and education whom we have appointed clerks and ministerial officers of the Court."

(23) Naylor advised Hastings and the Council to resist the proceedings taken against the Rajah of Kasijora as being outside the jurisdiction of the Court. He was detained in jail from March 1 to March 16, 1780. His wife (Anne Bertie) died on March 6 during his imprisonment.

(24) Bernard Messinck the "Barnaby Grizzle" of Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*, applied on October 4, 1780, with Peter Reed ("Peter Nimmuck") for "the favor of our being appointed Printers to the Hon'ble Company at Calcutta". They published the *India Gazette*. Garrick had sent out Messinck to supervise the new playhouse which had been built by public subscription at the north-west corner of Lyons Range.

attorney in his proceedings for libel against James Augustus Hickey, and called upon William Hickey, before the Governor General's departure for Europe in February, 1785, to intimate that his client was prepared to forego the fines which he had obtained against him. "That turbulent man" was accordingly released from jail and says Hickey (Vol. III, p. 262) became from that time "a warm and zealous defender and panegyrist of Mr. Hastings."

Mention is also made in the Memoirs of an Irish attorney, William Townsend Jones, and an entertaining account is given (Vol. III, pp. 219-220) of a scene in Court between him and Sir Robert Chambers, which might have supplied Dickens with the material for the colloquy between Mr. Justice Stareleigh and Mr. Phunky. Jones got into trouble in August 1789, when he was committed for trial by Hyde on a charge of causing the death of his durwan's brother by flogging. He was admitted to bail and seems to have escaped conviction as "many depositions were read in Court which tended to prove the innocence of Mr. Jones". He died in Calcutta on January 24, 1807, at the age of fifty.

Another attorney, Fairfax Moresby, who was the grandfather of the Admiral of that name, figures in a more angry altercation with Hyde (25). James Forbes, who was clerk to Impey, is another attorney who finds a place in Hickey's Memoirs (Vol. III, p. 319). He married a Scotch lady, Priscilla Bradshaw, on August 6, 1785, after an absence of fifteen years. Neither had improved in appearance during the interval: indeed, said the lady, "verily her gude mon, her dear Jammy, was somewhat the worse for wear as well as herself." She died in Calcutta on March 21, 1808, in the 49th year of her age. George Wroughton, Company's attorney from 1780 to 1788, lived in Hyde's family (Hickey, Vol. III, p. 233) and was in consequence held up to opprobrium as "Balance's footman" in the *Bengal Gazette*.

The name of Thomas Farrer, counsel for Nuncomar, stands first on the roll of advocates (October 22, 1774). Farrer was one of the first Advocates.

William Hickey's friends in London in 1771, when that remarkable individual was reading in an attorney's office: and the following passage may be found in the first volume of his Memoirs (pp. 311-312):

In the month of August (1774) Mr. Farrer one evening surprized us all at the "Shakespeare" very much by telling us he should depart for the East Indies in a few days, through having been informed from authority that a new Court was upon the eve of being established in Bengal under the direction of four Judges to be nominated by his Majesty, in which Court he understood there would be a great opening for the exercise of talents and industry at the Bar.

He reached Calcutta before the Judges (26) and "announcing himself as the avant courier of His Majesty's new Court" secured retainers in advance to the amount of five thousand pounds. He was, says Hickey, "the only regular bred English lawyer" practising before the Judges, and "his most sanguine hopes were soon realized by his acquiring a noble fortune," no less a sum in fact than £60,000, in the space of four years. In March 1778, Francis notes in his diary: "Farrer going to England: understands my cause there heartily." Elsewhere he alludes to Barwell as "sitting up all night, winning Farrer's money". He still kept enough, however, for he afterwards sat in Parliament for Wareham, and gave evidence in favour of the impeachment of Impey.

Christian Frederick Brix and Charles Newman were sworn in on December 14, 1774. Brix acted as Farrer's junior in the Nuncomar case. William Hickey (Vol. III, p. 180) describes him as an "experienced advocate".

Newman, who appeared for Grand in his action against Francis, perished in the wreck of the *Grosvenor* off the African coast on August 4, 1782. He had been appointed sworn clerk on October 22, 1774, and standing counsel in 1776. Hickey tells us that he resigned as a protest against the sending out of Sir John Day as Advocate General from England; but the records of the Government of India do not bear out this assertion. In his letter of resignation, which is dated April 10, 1781, he states that he is relinquishing his office of his own option as he is leaving Calcutta on a tour and desires to abandon the practice of Law thereafter. He was in fact proceeding to Madras under instructions from the Court of Directors to collect evidence against Sir Thomas Rumbold.

Hercules Durham (January 7, 1775) had been the Company's attorney. He was counsel for the Crown against Nuncomar, but proved as Dr. Busteed says, a broken reed to lean upon, in spite of his prenomens, for he broke down in health and was obliged to leave the cross-examination of the witnesses to the judges. He died in Calcutta on October 14, 1776.

Details of Durham's career in India are given in a letter (27) written on April 20, 1779 from Fort William by Warren Hastings to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, whom he begs to use his good offices to secure a Bengal writership for Mr. John Durham, "a youth of about fifteen years of age, who is at present in England."

The father of this young man was formerly an officer in His Majesty's Service and came out as a cadet to Bengal in 1772. He served on the expedition to Cooch Beyhar and acted for some months as surgeon to the detachment. By a very strict and humane atten-

(26) Impey, in a letter to the Earl of Rochford, states that Farrer came out to Bengal under the name of secretary to Colonel Monson, and that Monson procured his admission as an advocate.—Beveridge, *Trial of Nanda Kumar*, p. 221.

(27) The letter is preserved at the India Office (Writers Petitions, Vol. IX, no. 38 of 1781). I am indebted to Mr. J. J. Cotton for calling attention to the document, and to Sir William Foster for transcribing it.

tion to his duty he contracted a disorder in that unhealthy country which hung upon him to the time of his death in October 1776. On Mr. Durham's return from Cooch Beyhar he quitted the army and officiated as Deputy Zemindar in Calcutta, much to the satisfaction of the Board, untill the institution of the Supreme Court of Judicature, when he was appointed Attorney to the Company, an employment he executed with diligence and fidelity, but was obliged at last to resign it on account of the declining state of his health. At his death which happened soon after, his family was left in great distress: and as I deem the conduct of Mr. Durham to have been highly meritorious, I trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in recommending his son to your patronage and protection.

John Durham duly received an appointment and arrived in Bengal on October 1, 1781. The last traceable post held by him is that of Examiner in the office of the Secretary of the Board of Revenue. He died in Calcutta on December 12, 1792.

William Chauncy Lawrence (November 3, 1775) was the brother of Sir Thomas Soulden Lawrence, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. He came out originally, like Durham, as a cadet in October 1773 (27 A): and on December 20, 1774, we find Dr. Samuel Johnson commending him to Warren Hastings in the following terms:

There is, Sir, somewhere within your government a young adventurer, one Chauncy Lawrence, whose father is one of my oldest friends. Be pleased to show the young man what countenance is fit, whether he wants to be restrained by your authority or encouraged by your favour. His father is now President of the College of Physicians, a man venerable for his knowledge and more venerable for his virtue.

The "young adventurer" made good use of the opportunities which fell to him. He became deputy judge advocate general in July, 1775. Four months later, on November 1, 1775, he applied for admission as an advocate of the Supreme Court, and was enrolled two days later. He was appointed junior counsel to the Company in March 1777 and junior advocate on January 28, 1783: but did not hold the latter office long. On July 28 in the same year (1783) he proceeded on a voyage for the recovery of his health, and died at sea.

Charles Sealy (March 21, 1776) has the honour of being the great grand father of the Earl of Northbrook, Viceroy and Governor-General of India from 1872 to 1876; through his daughter Mary Ursula, (baptized at John's Church on April 18, 1774)

(27A) It is evident, from these cases of Durham and Lawrence, that lawyers were easily manufactured in those days. As a matter of fact, the acceptance of a cadetship was regarded as a convenient method of obtaining a passage to India at the Company's expense. John Prinsep, of Pulta, and Francis Gladwin, the orientalist, came out to Bengal as cadets and speedily resigned their commissions.

who was married on September 15, 1794, also at St. John's Church, to Thomas Baring of the Bengal Civil Service. Their eldest son, the first Baron Northbrooke, was born and baptized in Calcutta. Sealy (who was originally an attorney) was the last Registrar of the Mayor's Court (1773-1774) and was appointed Registrar of the Supreme Court. His wife died in 1790: and he resolved to return to Europe and died while on a journey to Salisbury a few months after his arrival. His portrait was presented to St. John's Church by his great grandson. We have it from William Hickey (Vol. III, p. 156) that he lived in "a magnificent mansion upon the bank of the river at Cossipore, four miles above Calcutta," where he dispensed generous hospitality.

Matthew Hules Graves, of whom there is no other record, was admitted on July 5, 1776.

Richard Tilghman was enrolled on February 5, 1777, according to one account (28) but William Hickey, who came out with him on the *Seahorse*, states that he was admitted nine months later, on November 13, 1777. He was a relative of Francis and went home with him in the *Fox* in 1780. Hickey met him at dinner at Francis' house in Upper Harley Street, and tells us that "his inducement for visiting England was to endeavour to get into the Company's Civil Service in Bengal, which if he succeeded in doing he should immediately return to India and resume his situation at the Bar of the Supreme Court, as his ultimate object was the appointment of Advocate General" (Vol. II, p. 273). His ambition was not fulfilled, for although he obtained a writership, he fell ill upon his arrival at Calcutta in November 1784, and re-embarked on the *Francis*, the ship in which he had come out, and died at sea two days after leaving Fort Saint George. "This able and worthy man was a public as well as a private loss. Had he been spared he would have proved equally an ornament to his profession and to his country".

Robert Morse who was admitted on the same day (November 13, 1777) was another of Hickey's shipmates. He built up a large practice and made much money. In 1781 however, he accepted the post of paymaster to the troops sent overland from Bengal to the Coromandel Coast, but resigned after seven months, and returned to the Bar. After this "whimsical experiment", writes Hickey, "he sat whole days in Court unemployed." In 1784 he served the office of Sheriff of Calcutta and appointed Hickey as his under-sheriff (29). His sisters married Nathaniel Middleton and William Cator: and Zoffany painted a portrait of them.

(28) See the list of Advocates of the Supreme Court in the Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer for 1841.

(29) Hickey also served the office of deputy to the following other Sheriffs: Levi Ball in 1795, Edward Thornton (the police-magistrate) in 1801, Edward Benjamin Lewin (advocate) in 1808, Stephen Laprimaudaye (of the firm of Frushard and Laprimaudaye) in 1805, Henry Churchill (deputy master attendant) in 1806 and James Archibald Simpson (junior counsel to the Company) in 1807. He left Calcutta in 1808, wrote his Memoirs between 1809 and 1820, and died in England in 1830.

George Nesbitt Thompson (July 12, 1779) became the private secretary and faithful friend of Warren Hastings. He was appointed junior counsel to the Company in 1784. Hastings writes to his wife at the end of January 1784: "Mr. Thompson, who is too sick to accompany me [to Lucknow] is nominated to be Company's advocate in the Room of Mr. Lawrence who is dead." In January 1786 Thompson succeeded Davies as Senior Counsel: but he did not hold the post long, for on September 18 in that year he writes to Hastings: "I have lost my office of Senior Council to the Company, and have now no office, employment or salary under the Company." He returned to Europe in 1790 and married in the following year at Marylebone Church Catherine Mary (Powney), the widow of Henry Vansittart who died in Calcutta on October 7, 1786. Thompson's letters to Hastings have been printed *in extenso* in *Bengal: Past and Present*.

Thomas Henry Davies, who is the "Counsellor Feeble" and the "Double Fee Ferret" of J. A. Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* came out to Bengal with Captain, afterwards Admiral, Peter Rainier, in a man of war in 1779. But he had omitted to obtain "the license of the Directors" and, upon this fact being brought to the notice of the Judges, the following remarkable letter was addressed on February 26, 1780, by James Forbes, Clerk to the Chief Justice, to James Peter Auriol, Secretary to the Council at Fort William (30).

The Chief Justice directs me to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 24th instant, written by the direction of the Governor-General and Council, enclosing the 49th paragraph of a letter of the Court of Directors dated 27th May last, acquainting him that Thomas Henry Davies has come to India without the license of the Directors and is arrived in Calcutta, and that the Governor-General and Council have required him to return to England. As this paragraph no wise relates personally to him or the business of the Court, and he is not honoured with the reasons which have induced the Governor-General and Council to make a notification to him of a paragraph which simply conveys an order to them: the only purpose for which he can surmise that it is intended is, that it may operate to prevent the assent of the Chief Justice to the admission of Mr. Davies to be an advocate of the Court. If that be the intention of it he desires you to acquaint the Governor-General and Council that the admission of advocates is an act of Court, which has ever been done in open Court in full form, and not of any individual Judge: that if they should esteem the admission of Mr. Davies to be repugnant to any rights of the East India Company, in his opinion the proper way of preventing it is not by private letter written by the Secretary to a Judge, but by instructing their Advocate to oppose it, if Mr. Davies should offer himself to the Court for that purpose, by which means the claim

of the Company will be publicly discussed. And if the admission or non-admission of Mr. Davies should solely be determined on the matter of right of the East India Company to prevent it, the party which may be dissatisfied may be left to such remedy as they may be advised to pursue.

The next letter on the docket (no. 11) is a humble letter of apology and explanation from Davies. But no further steps appear to have been taken: for he was enrolled as an advocate on March 20, 1780. Hickey says that he had to wait to get into practice until Morse went off to the Coromandel coast as paymaster in 1781. "Mr. Davies, though inferior to Morse in point of legal knowledge, had greatly the advantage in every other respect." He was "eloquent, quick and possessed of splendid natural talents improved by the best education and much reading". His rise was rapid. We find him discharging the duties of standing counsel as early as January 30, 1782: and when Sir John Day left India in 1786 he was appointed Advocate-General. He married Ann Baillie at St. John's Church on April 3, 1788, and died in Calcutta on January 21, 1792.

Hickey tells us that Davies owed his success principally to his arguments against a byelaw proposed to be brought forward by Government "which, had it taken effect would have been extremely prejudicial to the commercial interests of Bengal." Davies handled the matter with such skill and ability that the measure was rejected by the Judges: and "every suitor became anxious that Mr. Davies should plead for them". His services to the Company were equally appreciated, for the Court of Directors presented him (says Hickey) with the sum of Sicca Rs. 30,000 over and above his salary and allowances and addressed a complimentary letter to him.

John Hare was admitted as an advocate on March 28, 1780, and served John Hare and the office of Sheriff in 1782. He figures prominently in Anthony Fay. the letters of Eliza Fay: and the following extract from the Fort Saint George Military Country Correspondence (Vol. XXIX, pp. 22-23) relates to his early adventures on his way to Bengal: "14th February [1780]. Copy of a letter from Governor [Sir Thomas Rumbold] to Hyder Ally, requesting the release of Mr. Hare and ten other Europeans who were imprisoned in Calicut by Sadar Cawn". Among the prisoners were the Fays and Tulloh the famous Calcutta auctioneer and his wife. Their captivity lasted from November 4, 1779 to February 17, 1780. Hickey came across Hare in London in 1771 (Vol. I, p. 276) in the course of an encounter with "Mohawks" in Covent Garden: and narrates his end:

Mr. Hare went to Bengal as an advocate of the Supreme Court where from his strong recommendations he obtained from the Government a contract so advantageous as to enable him in four years to set out on his return to Europe overland. Whilst on his journey he imprudently let his attendants see some diamonds and other valuable articles in his writing desk. This induced them to murder him as he lay asleep upon the banks of the Euphrates into

which they threw his body, went off with the property, and were never afterwards heard of.

The official account of the tragedy is to be found in a letter addressed on May 1, 1784 by William Digges La Touche, Resident at Bussorah, to "the Gentleman of the Council at Fort William" (Original Consultations, 8th November 1784: No. 1 duplicate:.) "With the greatest concern I inform you that Mr. John Hare who arrived here the 3rd February by the *Bombay* snow and who departed the 24th March for Aleppo by way of Bagdad was attacked robbed and murdered by Arabs between this and Hilla".

Mrs. Fay cordially disliked Hare. She calls him a coxcomb and paints a most unflattering picture of his personal appearance. "Figure to yourself a little mortal, his body constantly bent in a rhetorical attitude as if addressing the Court, his face covered with scorbutic blotches", and spectacles "concealing the most odious pair of white eyes mine ever beheld:" Hickey is more charitable: "A genteel-looking young man of very slight form and apparently in bad health."

Anthony Fay, who was admitted on June 16, 1780, challenges notice only as the worthless husband of Mrs. Fay. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn on July 3, 1778, and started for India with his wife in April, 1779. Some hint of their adventures on their way has been given: and the rest must be gathered from Mrs. Fay's letters, of which a new edition by Mr. E. M. Forster has just been published. At first he obtained some practice: and was engaged with Hare to defend James Augustus Hicky, of the *Bengal Gazette*, in a prosecution for libel instituted by Hastings. But he ruined his prospects by his folly. He refused to call on the Chief Justice and was indeed accused of having been sent out to act as a spy upon him. A further cause of offence was occasioned by his active partisanship of Francis against Hastings: and the result was that the attorneys were afraid to employ him, and he obtained no briefs. In August, 1781, he was glad to take advantage of an offer made to him by Colonel Henry Watson (of Kidderpore Docks fame) to go to England as a confidential agent for the purpose of bringing about the impeachment of Impey. Thenceforward he disappears from view, but is believed to have died about 1815. His wife whom he left behind with his debts and an illegitimate child, found shelter in the "great house" of Sir Robert Chambers and left for England in May, 1782. She returned in 1784 and set up a milliner's shop in the Old Post Office at the corner of Church Lane and Hastings Street. The venture was not a success, and she went again to Europe, but came back to Calcutta where she died on September 9, 1816, at the age of sixty.

On returning to Calcutta in June, 1783, William Hickey found (he tells us) the following barristers in practice before the Supreme Court: Thomas Henry Davies, William Dunkin, James Dunkin, Charles Sealy, Christian Brix, Stephen Cassan, Ralph Uvedale, and Phinehas Hall. Chauncy Lawrence died shortly after his arrival.

Eighteen months earlier, in January 1782, we find James Augustus Hicky complaining, in a petition to the Court, of the difficulty of finding counsel. He knows, he says, of five. Brix, Davies and Lawrence are in the pay of Government and will not take a brief against the Governor-General. Hare had assisted him, but "from an apprehension that he had by so doing incurred the displeasure of some great man in power in the Settlement," had declined to act further. The fifth, Charles Sealy, was out of Calcutta at the time, but "he could not in gratitude act as counsel against Mr. Hastings who has given him a lucrative salt agency, and in whose power it is to deprive him of it in an instant".

Between 1780 and 1782 there were, in fact no admissions. The dearth of advocates began to be felt, and we find the following interesting entry in Hyde's note books.

1782. 3 Term. June 23.

The first business of the Court to-day was the admission of three advocates which the Court agreed to do although none of the gentlemen were barristers in England or Ireland. The reason for the Court's departing from their general rule to admit none but such as were barristers was partly that, although there is very little business in the Court since the opposition given to the process of the Court by the Military forces of the Company by order of the Governor-General, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Barwell, Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheler, Counsellors (31) for which opposition it is said an Act of Parliament passed on August 18th, 1781 to indemnify them, yet there are not advocates enough who are willing to do but little business, and partly because we were strongly solicited to admit Mr. Hall and Mr. Young, and Mr. Uvedale had been promised long ago that, if we admitted any who were not barristers, he should be admitted an advocate, he appearing to all the Judges very well qualified.

In view of the recent decision to admit all vakeels of more than ten years' standing as advocates, upon their application, this entry can claim to possess more than ordinary importance.

Hyde describes Ralph Uvedale, who acted as attorney for Grand in his action against Francis, as a man "of genteel family in Ireland, and his father is a captain in His Majesty's Navy". He had been appointed clerk of the Crown on August 26, 1777, and became Prothonotary on March 19, 1799 and Sealer on July 12, 1806. In 1796 he served the office of Sheriff. He died in Calcutta on May 18, 1813, at the age of sixty-six, and his grave is in the North Park Street cemetery.

Phineas Hall, according to Hickey (Vol. III, p. 322) had been a member of the "fraternity of Bucks" in London, and with Hickey and four other members, formed a Lodge in Calcutta. John Hawkesworth, the author of "*Asiaticus: in Two Parts*" (1803 edition) tells us that Hall offered

(31) A reference to the Kasijora case.

his services to the building committee of St. John's Church (which was consecrated on June 24, 1787) "in drawing up the contracts with such people as they had occasion to employ".

Of Philip Yonge, who served the office of Sheriff in 1785, William Hickey affords us a glimpse in the early part of 1789 (Vol. III, p. 342):

Mr. Philip Yonge, a barrister, having suffered in health, took his passage for Europe, by whom I sent as a present for my brother twelve views of different parts of Calcutta, drawn and engraved in *aqua tinta* by Messrs. Daniell.

William Dunkin and Solomon Hamilton were enrolled on October 22, 1782. Dunkin, says Hickey, showed him particular attention and "we lived much together." He had inherited an estate in Northern Ireland of the value of about £1,500 per annum, but "having been too profuse upon his accession to his fortune he had encumbered it." Having in addition a numerous family, he came out "under the hope of thereby bettering his fortune." He kept house, we are told, with Stephen Cassan, another young Irish barrister, of whom more presently.

There was strong rivalry between Dunkin and Davies who was a vigorous partisan of Hastings. Lord Macartney who had been at Trinity College, Dublin, with Dunkin, stayed with him when he visited Calcutta in 1785: and on September 8 of that year Nesbitt Thompson writes to Hastings to acquaint him with "the very unfair means which have been practised here" to deprive Davies of the succession to Sir John Day, and to warn him of "those which are likely to be pursued by Lord Macartney in England in favour of Mr. Dunkin." Thompson points out that Davies is Senior Counsel and he himself is Junior Counsel. "It is as much therefore my interest as it is his to guard against supercession and as you are my tutelar god I trust that having created you will preserve me." Hastings is begged to remember that he has provided for Dunkin by giving him the appointment of Register to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, "an office of much greater influence and emolument than either Davies' or mine," and that "if Dunkin gets the Advocate Generalship he will hold both appointments." Dunkin was evidently a formidable candidate. "Though a cursed Jesuit, he has the happiness of Mr. Sullivan (32) for a friend," and Day also, "after trying several other means of defeating Davies' succession, is now labouring to obtain permission to go to England for two years, without relinquishing his office." The scheme failed: and on January 11, 1786, Thompson informs Hastings that "Davies upon the resignation of Sir John Day is to become Advocate-General".

In January 1789 Dunkin returned to England in the *Phœnix*. "This was a serious loss to me", writes Hickey, "and I felt it acutely." In September 1791 he became a Judge of the Supreme Court on the promotion of Sir Robert Chambers to be Chief Justice, and died in Calcutta on August 1, 1797, when he was succeeded by Sir Henry Russell.

(32) Lawrence Sullivan: Director 1755 to 1758, 1760 to 1764, 1769 to 1772, 1778 to 1781, 1783: Deputy Chairman 1757, 1763, 1772, 1780: Chairman 1758, 1760, 1761, 1781.

Solomon Hamilton was also a member of the Irish Bar but according to Hickey did not remain long an advocate and set up in practice as an attorney. Colonel Henry Watson, who employed him in connection with his docks at Kidderpore, described him as "the greatest thief that ever was unhung, but a devilish shrewd, clever fellow", adding some uncomplimentary phrases on the subject of the profession which he had adopted. Hickey did not like him and has nothing good to say of him.

Jeremiah Church and Stephen Cassan were enrolled on November 12, 1782. Church was Sheriff in 1783 and Hickey records his death in February 1788: "a good humoured pleasant man of considerable talents, he was taken off very suddenly with one of those violent fevers so prevalent in Bengal."

On page 624 of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1810 (Vol. 80) there is a letter dated December 10, 1810, from "Asiaticus R.W." in which he, quite inaccurately, rebukes another correspondent, R.E.R., with having stated that Hyde never filled the office of Chief Justice of Bengal. The remainder of his comments are of more value: for (after a further reference to Hyde) they introduce us, among others, to Stephen Cassan:

That worthy character was on the Bench for the long space of 21 years, namely, from 1774 to 1796; and the Bar of Calcutta was, nor perhaps ever will be, more adorned by splendid talents, both legal and classical, that it was during the last 12 years of that period. Amongst the most eminent barristers of that day we may enumerate Mr. Thomas Scott, nephew of the Duke of Buccleugh, and the writer of the inscription on his [Hyde's] tombstone, the late Mr. Stephen Cassan who filled more than once [sic] the office of High Sheriff of Bengal and son of Mr. Cassan, M.P., Mr. James Dunkin, cousin of Sir William, Mr. Davis, afterwards Advocate-General, Mr. Strettel son of T. Strettel, Esq., of Cork, who I understand is still practising at Calcutta.

Stephen Cassan was the son of an Irish member of Parliament of that name and was born in 1758. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and was enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court at Fort William on November 12, 1782. Four years later (1786) he served the office of Sheriff and died in 1794: but there is no trace of his grave in the South Park Street Cemetery. We catch sight of him, and also of Zoffany, in a third extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1810 (Vol. 80, p. 658):

The late Sir Johann Zoffanij during his residence in the East Indies very considerably increased his property and added to his fame: he there painted several excellent pieces, among which we believe was a group in which was Lady Day, wife of Sir John Day, Knt. In groupes and small whole lengths he eminently distinguished himself. He undertook a painting of the shipwreck of the *Brilliant*, Captain Charles Mears, off the Island of Johanna in its passage from England to India [in 1782]. In this piece he displayed his accustomed skill in portraying every person in that

melancholy catastrophe, in which 40 souls perished. The most prominent figures in the painting were the only daughter and son of Captain Mears, the former of whom became a captain in the Company's service (33) and the latter, at that time 15, and the only female on board, afterwards married Stephen Cassan, Esq., barrister, and has since been left his widow.

There is no entry of Cassan's marriage to Sarah Mears in the registers of St. John's Church: but it must have taken place before 1789, for a son named Stephen Hyde Cassan was born to him in that year, who was evidently the godson of John Hyde, the Judge. The younger Cassan, who died in 1841, was the author, among other works, of lives of the Bishops of Sherborne and Salisbury. His uncle, Matthew Cassan, who was a major in the Queen's County Militia married Sarah Forde, the daughter of Colonel Francis Forde, the victor of Condore and Biderra, who was with Clive at Plassey and captured Masulipatam and who perished with Luke Scrafton and Henry Vansittart the elder, in the wreck of the *Aurora* frigate in 1770.

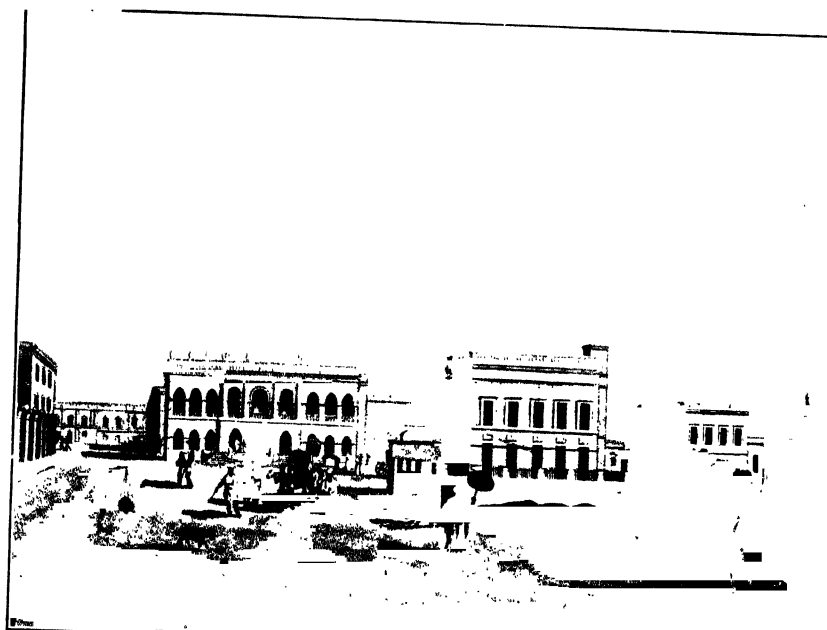
Sir William Jones was appointed to a puisne judgeship in 1783 at the age of thirty-seven and died in Calcutta on April 27, 1794. Sir William Jones. Like Chambers, he was a Fellow of University College, Oxford. It is said to have been his custom to walk every morning to his chambers at the "New Court House" from the bungalow at Garden Reach where he spent his evenings with moonshees and pundits and corresponded with Johnson and Burke. He was a prodigious worker: he commenced a digest of Hindu and Mahomedan Law, explored every department of oriental learning, and contributed no less than twenty-nine papers to the first four volumes of the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which he founded in 1784. A monument to his memory was erected in St. Paul's Cathedral in London. There is no portrait of him in the Judges' Library: but the Asiatic Society of Bengal has two, one by Sir Joshua Reynolds which represents him as a young man, and the other by Robert Home.

George Watson was admitted on June 7, 1783: but of him no memory survives.

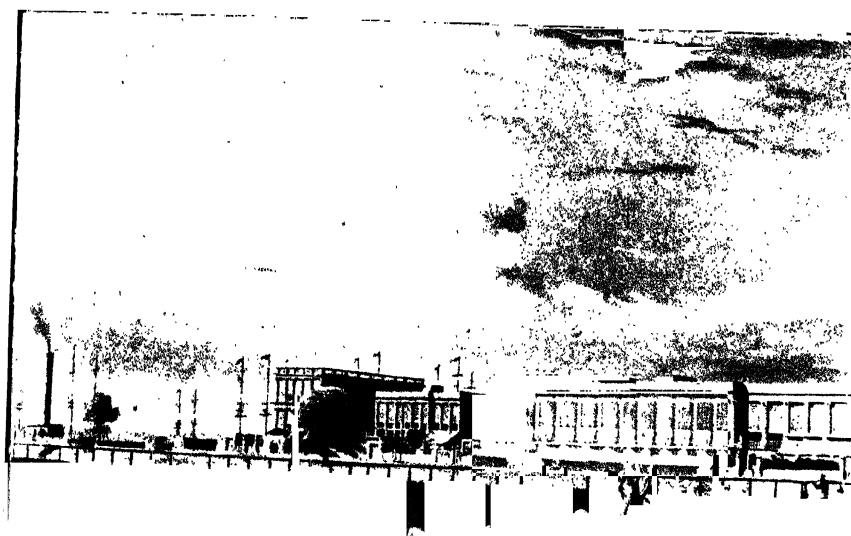
Charles Johnstone (October 22, 1783) was the author of "Chrysal or the Adventures of a Guinea" (4 vols. 1760-1765) which has been described as the best *chronique scandaleuse* of the day (34). We know that the writer of this book went to Bengal and contributed there to the newspapers under the name of Oneiropolos. He eventually owned or partly owned a newspaper: and died in Calcutta in 1800. Another of his works was the "History of John Juniper, Esq. alias Juniper Jack" (3 vols. 1781) in which

(33) Charles John Mears was a Captain in the 2nd Bombay European Regiment, and was aide-de-camp to Sir Robert Abercromby, who was Commander-in-Chief in Bombay from 1790 to 1793. He fell before Seringapatam in April, 1799, when serving under General James Stuart of the 72nd Regiment.

(34) The book was written apparently at Mount Edgcumbe and is dedicated to the Earl of that name, who was one of the two persons presented with a key of the personages caricatured.



THE OLD COURT HOUSE.
DEMOLISHED IN 1792.
From a sketch by Colonel Francis Swain Ward



he "designated a certain Republican character now living." He accompanied the Mears family to India as tutor and was wrecked with them in the *Brilliant*.

Edward Hesketh (March 1, 1784) died in Calcutta on November 9, 1785; and Henry Dougherty (November 1784) on October 22, 1786.

James Dunkin (March 1, 1784) was a cousin of Sir William and was appointed Sheriff in 1794. Hickey records that both of them and also Cassan, accompanied him in February 1787 on a trip up the river which ended in a visit to Moorshedabad and a stay of ten days with Robert Pott at Afzulbaug. It is uncertain whether it was James, or William, who owned the *bustee* which once stretched from Wood Street to Camac Street and was known as Dunkin's (or Duncan's) *bustee*.

In September, 1799 (35), Mr. James Dunkin who had "practised for a considerable time at the Bar at Dublin and at Calcutta" and whom Governor North describes as "well versed both in the civil and criminal Law", was appointed to "act as a judge of the Court of Criminal Law" in Ceylon with a salary of 400 pagodas a month (Rs. 1,400). He is mentioned in Cordiner (Vol. I, p. 187) as being "one of the Judges of the Supreme Court" in 1800, in which capacity he accompanied Governor North in his tour round the island in that year. In the same year however we find him Provincial Judge of Galle, and on February 19, 1801, he was appointed Advocate Fiscal of Ceylon: when he submitted to Government a "Criminal Code for the Island". In July 1802, he was at Jaffna acting as Advocate Fiscal, possibly on circuit with the Supreme Court. But on March 24, 1803, he was again at Jaffna and anxious to "lease the ground at Wannarponne, formerly the dwelling place of the Dutch Company's slaves" (Jaffna Diary). On June 29, 1803, he was again appointed Advocate Fiscal. Governor North says of him (July 30, 1800): "Old Judge Dunkin is 70 years of age, equitable, indefatigable, humane, and learned." He was seventy-eight therefore at the time of his death on October 16, 1808 (Register of St. Peter's Church, Colombo). The Dutch entry in the Wolvendaal Register is as follows: "den Engelsch Advocaat Fiskaal den Heer Donkien in het binne Kerkhof": (sc. inner church, church within the town).

Of Edward Maxwell (March 1, 1784) there is a brief mention in a letter written by Nesbitt Thompson to Hastings from "Allipoor" on November 1, 1785: "Upon an application by Governor Johnson (36) to the Court of Directors requesting that Maxwell should be appointed to the

(35) J. P. Lewis C.M.G. List of Inscriptions in Ceylon: Appendix, "Obituary of the Uncommemorated." I am indebted to Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., for the reference.

(36) George Johnstone (1730-1787) was the fourth son of Sir James Johnstone, Bart. of Westerhall, Dumfriesshire. He entered the Navy and in 1765 was appointed Governor of West Florida: hence his appellation of "Governor Johnstone." In 1767 he returned to England and entered the House of Commons in 1768 as member for Cockermouth. He was given command in 1781 of a squadron to operate in the East Indies against the bailli de Suffren. In January 1784 he was elected a Director of the East India Company in succession to Sir Henry Fletcher, and held office until April 1786, having previously been an influential member of the court of

first vacant office of Council to the Company, it was opposed as it might eventually be a supercession." From a later letter of December 15 in the same year, we learn that Maxwell and Thomas Motte (the husband of "Bibby Motte") were joint superintendents of police.

Benjamin Sulivan (October 25, 1785) who was the son of the O'Sulivan More of Dromeragh in county Cork, came up from Madras to practise in the hope, it would seem, of succeeding Sir John Day (37). He had been appointed Standing Counsel (Government Advocate) at Madras in October, 1778, and Advocate-General in June 1781. Upon the establishment of a Supreme Court at that Presidency in September 1801, he was nominated to a puisne judgeship. "Sulivan's Gardens" still perpetuates his name in Madras. He died in 1810 at the age of 63.

The Hon'ble Lockhart Gordon (March 4, 1785) whose name stands next on the roll, was a son of the Earl of Aboyne. He received the appointments of Judge Advocate General and junior Counsel to the Company and died in Calcutta at the age of 56 on March 25, 1788.

The arrival in August, 1785 of Robert Ledlie (November 6, 1785) is mentioned by William Hickey: and he is stated in the Calcutta Directory for 1795 to have come out in the *Dublin*. "I had long known him by sight as a gay London man whom I frequently met in public places" (Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 288). He married on January 3, 1786, Susannah Grand, a sister of George Francis Grand, and was left a widower on July 23, 1800. According to Captain R. W. Eastwick (*Master Mariner*, p. 124) he was an early friend of the Duke of Wellington. "On our arrival at Garden Reach Colonel Wellesley asked me to land with him at the house of his friend Mr. Ledley, whose beautiful mansion was built close to the river bank". His brother William Ledlie arrived in 1783 and was admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court in 1793. Another member of the family, Noble Ledlie, was admitted as an attorney on November 4, 1794. Robert Ledlie died in Calcutta on November 24, 1809, at the age of 65. He had held since 1805 the appointments of Master in Equity, Accountant General and Keeper of the Records.

Proprietors and a strong opponent of Clive. In the same year (1784) he became M. P. for Ilchester. Two of his brothers were in the Company's Service in Bengal. Patrick Johnstone came out in 1754 and perished in the Black Hole. John Johnstone arrived in 1751 and was made prisoner at Dacca during the "troubles". He fought at Plassey and in the Northern Circars under Forde: and was sent in 1765 to Moorshedabad at the head of a commission to instal Nujm-ud-daula as Nawab Nazim, when he received a "present" of Rs. 2,37,000. Governor Johnstone's son George (B. C. S. 1781-1792) figures as "Mr. Johnson" in Zoffany's picture of "Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match": and sat later on in Parliament.

(37) Hastings writes to Nesbitt Thompson from London on May 20, 1786: "I have not been able to serve Davies. I early applied to Mr. [Laurence] Sulivan: but unfortunately he had obtained the promises of his friends for the gentleman of that name who is now at Madras. But the Board of Control has opposed his appointment, and Davies will, of course retain his post until the arrival of the ships of the next season. It is too delicate a point to meddle with as the two bodies are at variance about the Directors' appointment." Davies, as we have seen, was ultimately successful.

Charles Fuller Martyn (November 2, 1786) served the office of Sheriff in 1791. Hickey tells us that he came out on the *Ravensthorpe* with "the two Miss Phillpotts", the daughters of Thomas Philpot of the Civil Service (writer 1779) of whom Marianne married John Edward Harington of the Civil Service who succeeded his father as ninth baronet in 1793 (38).

John Thomas Atkinson (January 7, 1787) died in Calcutta in September 1789. Hickey (Vol. III, p. 350) records that he came to India by the advice of William Dunkin, who was "an old and warm friend of Mr. Atkinson's father, a respectable apothecary in Pall Mall".

John Royds (March 28, 1788) was another friend of Hickey.

In February 1788 I had the pleasure of receiving letters from my family.

which were brought out by John Royds, Esq., an intimate friend of my father and eldest sister: he was a gentleman of accomplished and elegant manners who had spent his time in the best company in England: formerly he possessed a handsome estate in Yorkshire, but by living rather too profusely had injured it so much as to make it necessary for him to try what Asia would do for him. As he had been a gay man of pleasure, he had not bestowed much of his time in studying Coke, Salkeld, or Ventries, consequently could not be a profound lawyer: but to Society in general he was a great acquisition.

Royds, however, did establish a reputation as a lawyer. He was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court on October 23, 1797 in succession to Sir John Watson (who held office only from March 1 to May 2, 1796) and died in Calcutta on September 24, 1817 at the age of 65. His house stood on the site of what was in later years the Doveton College: and he has given his name to Royds Street, which should properly be so called. He may be credited with presiding over one of the shortest criminal sessions on record in Calcutta. On June 9, 1804, he held "the first session of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery" and disposed of the cases in the calendar, who were only two in number, at a single sitting.

During the later years of his life, Royds had a house outside Calcutta, apparently at Garden Reach. Lady Nugent, the wife of the Commander-in-Chief, records in her journal that on May 1, 1814, she set off at six o'clock in the evening to pay him a visit. "Met Sir John Royds before we entered the boat at the Ghaut, for he cannot sleep in the country". On the next day she "made a little tour in a tonjon" (sedan chair) and saw all the grounds, "which are indeed very pretty".

The house is small and something in style of a little castle and though certainly, as a family residence it is not very convenient, yet it is pretty and serves Sir John's purpose very well, as he lives en garçon and only has a few friends occasionally. It is situated on

(38) The twelfth baronet, Sir Richard Harington, was a Judge of the High Court at Fort William from 1899 to 1913.

the banks of the river and commands a most beautiful prospect of it and the dwellings on the opposite shore.

Lady Nugent describes "poor dear old Sir John" as "a most agreeable old man, having lived in the best society and is perfectly well bred". She found him "a delightful companion though, unfortunately, a sad invalid."

There is some mystery in his affairs that he seems at times inclined to develop to me, but never comes to the point; all I know is that he has a wife, I believe in England, but they are separated, and he has, I fancy, some embarrassments in money matters, that prevent his return home. But I cannot think he has been to blame and conclude he has been unfortunate, in an uncongenial marriage.

William Simpson (July 12, 1787) and William Hart (July 12, 1788) have left no record.

Edward Strettell, "son of T. Strettell, Esq., of Cork", was enrolled as an Advocate on October 24, 1788. He was for many years Standing Counsel and after acting as Advocate-General from 1801 to 1803, was permanently appointed in March 1811 upon the resignation of Robert Percy Smith, and held the office until 1816, when he retired. We find both Strettell and Ledlie taking part in the meeting held at Le Gallais' rooms in September 1793, when it was decided to pay sicca Rs. 20,000 to Devis for the portrait of Lord Cornwallis which formerly hung in Government House, Calcutta, and is now at Belvedere.

John Shaw (October 26, 1789) receives the following notice from William Hickey (Memoirs Vol. III, p. 351) but is otherwise unknown to fame:

Towards the end of the year (1789) Mr. John Shaw arrived in Calcutta: he was a young man of high reputation as a scholar and lawyer, and being connected with the family of Mr. Davies, the Advocate-General, the latter gentleman received him as his guest.

We now come to one of the most distinguished names on the roll of advocates—that of William Burroughs (November 10, 1789). Hickey chronicles his arrival also (Memoirs Vol. III, p. 352):

Sir William Burroughs.

In November [1789] William Burroughs, Esquire arrived to practise in his profession as a barrister—bringing with him letters from my father and sisters, to whom he was well known... My father spoke of him in terms highly complimentary: he observed that he was a gentleman who had pleaded with ability and considerable success at the Irish Bar, had married a young lady of beauty and merit in right of whom he became possessed of a valuable estate and of which he remained the possessor for nearly twenty years when a new claimant to the property started up, instituted a suit at law for the recovery thereof and after much litigation was finally successful.

Burroughs became so deeply involved in debt as the result of these proceedings that he was obliged to leave Ireland and reside in England under an assumed name. By the help of Hickey's father and other friends, he was "enabled to make a small provision for his wife and family and to equip himself for the East Indies, where he was desirous of trying his fortune."

Hickey describes Burroughs as "a lively, sensible shrewd man, appearing to possess sound judgment, and a perfect scholar, at that time mild and unassuming." He determined from the first to succeed. "Hearing of nothing but the wonderful acuteness and talent of Mr. Davies, the Advocate-General, who was said to monopolise all the business of the Court, he observed that this surprising genius could not be on both sides at once and that he would not have the least objection to meet him in the field." He began life in Calcutta by hiring "a wretched little hovel in a narrow, dirty back lane, furnishing it with a bed and a few chairs and table": but his practice rapidly grew, and Hickey "lived to see this very man the most ostentatious and in some instances the most extravagantly expensive man in Bengal." He was appointed Standing Counsel in 1790 and on the death of Davies in 1792, Advocate-General. In 1800 he returned to England: and sat in the House of Commons in the Parliament of 1804-1806. He was appointed to succeed Sir Henry Russell as a puisne judge in 1806 and retired in 1815. A baronetcy was conferred upon him in 1829 which was the year of his death. There is a fine portrait of him by Sir Thomas Lawrence in the Judges' Library. His daughter Louisa was married in 1806 to Sir Thomas Strange, last Recorder of Madras (1798-1801) and first Chief Justice (1801-1817). The portrait of Strange, which is at Government House, Madras, was also painted by Lawrence.

The career of Sir John Richardson (October 22, 1790) is a mystery. It is known that a baronet of that name, who was "a barrister and orientalist" died in Calcutta on May 5, 1795: but we have been able to establish no ground for connecting him with "Commodore" John Richardson who served the office of Sheriff as early as 1778, and of whom some amusing particulars are given by William Hickey in the second volume of his Memoirs.

In the autumn of 1791 a barrister of the name of Robert Morris applied without success to be admitted as an advocate. We obtain a glimpse of the incident in George Francis Grand's "Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman Long Resident in India" (39). According to Grand, his dismissal from the service by Lord Cornwallis was due to the calumnies of "the famous, or rather infamous, Robert Morris, the secretary to the assembly held in England for the support of the Bill of Rights (40), but better known by his having eloped and tricked into a

(39) Calcutta Historical Society's reprint (1910): pp. 133-135.

(40) This was apparently the petition from Bengal which took William Hickey to England in 1779, and which prayed for the repeal of the Act under which the Supreme Court was constituted, and the recognition of the right of trial by jury (Vol. II, p. 182). Hickey, however, does not mention Morris.

marriage the Ward of Chancery, Miss Harford, and left to his care by his friend the late Lord Baltimore."

From the decision which took place against him, and his matrimonial speculation being rendered void, he justly thought England was not the country for him to remain in, and he smuggled himself out to India. Landed in that country where his practices, as he thought, would remain unknown or at least unnoticed, he boldly proposed himself to plead in the Supreme Court, grounding his claim to such admission from his having been regularly entered a Barrister in the Temple. His effrontery did not serve him. Sir William Dunkin, one of the puisne judges, rejected his petition in open court, and added that he should not hesitate to unfold the reasons, if Mr. Morris thought proper to press him for an explanation. Mr. Morris rather deemed it convenient to bow and retire.

The records of the Government of India contain the following protest dated January 21, 1792, and addressed by Morris to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council at Fort William:

My Lord:—As I feel it to be a debt of gratitude to the honourable Court of Directors, under whose express License, for the purpose of practising as a Barrister at Law, I have proceeded to this country, where so many openly reside and practise all species of trades and professions without their Licence: as well as an act of Justice to that honourable court and to myself: to lay before them the reception I have met with by the Justices of the Supreme Court, that their eyes may be open to the sort of regard in which their patronage is held, I beg the favour of having my representation of this extraordinary treatment laid before them through the channel of your honourable Board.

No action appears to have been taken on this letter, and the name of Morris is absent from the list of advocates. Grand says that after applying unsuccessfully to his brother-in-law Robert Ledlie for an introduction to him, Morris came up to Patna where he (Grand) was then Judge and Magistrate, and proceeded, during his absence at Dinapore, to inspect the jail under a pretended authority received from Lord Cornwallis. "Provided with paper, pen, and ink, and a Portuguese priest who wrote Persian, he hastily framed petitions and obtained signatures". Grand immediately issued a warrant to arrest Morris, but he escaped into another jurisdiction whence (says Grand) he sent the priest down to Calcutta with the "combustible" material which he had collected. Thereafter we lost sight of Morris: but on December 20, 1792, a Committee consisting of three of the Company's servants, Samuel Charters, Edward Ephraim Pote, and John Fendall, was appointed to enquire into Grand's administration of his charge at Patna.

Francis Workman Macnaghten was admitted as an advocate on September 1, 1791, and was appointed Master in 1792 and Examiner in 1795. He served the office of Sheriff in 1797.

Sir Francis Macnaghten.

In 1809 he went to Madras as puisne judge and remained there until 1815 when he was transferred to Calcutta in place of Sir William Burroughs. A fine portrait of him by Chinnery hangs in the Chief Justice's Court. He retired in 1825 and was created a baronet in 1836, having succeeded four years earlier to the family estates and the chiefship of Clan Macnaghten. That there was legal talent in the family is evidenced by the career of his grandson, Lord Macnaghten. He married in 1789, Letitia Dunkin, a daughter of Sir William Dunkin, and their second son, Sir William Hay Macnaghten (born in 1793) was also created a baronet in 1840 and was assassinated at Kabul on December 23, 1841, two years before the death of his father.

Codrington Edmund Carrington (October 22, 1792) was appointed Chief Justice of Ceylon in 1801 and retired in 1806. While at the Bar in Calcutta he was junior counsel to the Company: and was M. P. for St. Mawes from 1826 to 1831. He was an intimate friend of Sir William Jones and died in 1849.

Thomas Scott, whom we have already identified as the writer of Hyde's epitaph, was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on October 23, 1792. He was appointed Master and Accountant-General on October 22, 1793, and Keeper of the Records on January 23, 1794, and again on August 31, 1801. A grave in the South Park Street cemetery bears the inscription: "Thomas Scott, born 1775, died 1821". If this tomb be his, and the dates are correctly given, he must have joined the Bar of the Supreme Court at the unusual age of 17.

Edward Benjamin Lewin (November 17, 1792) served the office of Sheriff in 1803, and James Archibald Simpson (May 10, 1798) in 1807 and 1809. William Hickey acted in each of these years as under-sheriff. Simpson was appointed Clerk of the Crown, Examiner and Prothonotary on June 10, 1813: and was also junior counsel to the Company. Lewin held the offices of Master of Equity, Accountant General and Keeper of the Records from 1809 to 1814 (41).

John Dickens (February 17, 1794) must have come out late in life, for he died in Calcutta on September 22, 1810, at the age of "about fifty". His "exalted virtues", says the inscription on his tomb in the North Park Street cemetery, "will be respected while his name is remembered".

Although Impey left India in December 1783, no appointment was made to the office of Chief Justice until September 1791, when Sir Robert Chambers, (who had officiated meanwhile) took his seat as such and was honoured (so it is said) with a salute from Fort William. Upon his retirement in August 1798, he was offered a peerage but preferred a pension of £2,000 a year, which he enjoyed until his death near Paris in 1803 at the age of sixty-six. He lies buried in the Temple

(41) Like so many other lawyers of the time, Lewin lived at Garden Reach, which Sir Charles D'Oyly declared should be called "Lawyers' Reach." Cf. the advertisement in the Calcutta Gazette of March 5, 1807: "to be let, the Garden House in Garden Reach, formerly the property of Mr. [John] Cotton, and lately occupied by Edward B. Lewin, Esq."

Church in London, where a monument by Nollekens was erected to his memory. He was nicknamed Sir Viner Pliant by James Augustus Hickey: and William Hickey observes that there was "a tiresome and disgusting frivolousness of manner and conduct about him", and an inclination to indolence, which contrasted unfavourably with the punctuality and "the first rate talents" of Impey (Vol. III, p. 199). This is hardly a fair verdict, for elsewhere (Vol. II, p. 127) he records that during his earlier residence in Calcutta, he was always most kindly treated by Chambers who "made a point of my spending every Saturday and Sunday with him at his house" which was at Bhowanipore and therefore in those days "about two miles from town" (42). But Hickey quarrelled with the Judges over the petition demanding the repeal of the Supreme Court Act and claiming the right of trial by jury, which he took home with him in April 1779. He tells us (Vol. II, p. 221) that Chambers was "so whimsical and yet so precise in the execution of the most trifling matter" that "even in writing a common note he always first made a rough copy, using various words that expressed the same meaning."

These words he placed one above another: he then referred to Johnson and other authorities for the purpose of ascertaining which of the selected words would be the most correct to use, and adopted one accordingly. A cynical acquaintance of his, old Mr. Fowke (43), sarcastically but accurately compared his knowledge to a dictionary with the leaves misplaced or headed with wrong letters, where although eminent learning was contained in the work, you never knew how to get at it.

Like Impey and Hyde Chambers brought out a wife to Bengal with him: and his marriage is thus recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*: "March 8, 1774—Counsellor Chambers, one of the Judges appointed to go to India, to Miss Wilton of St. Mary le Bone". The bride, Frances Wilton, was the daughter of Joseph Wilton, R.A., a fashionable sculptor of the day: and her name appears, with those of Joseph Farington and Mrs. Zoffany, in a long list, in Nollekens' own writing, of one hundred persons to whom, according to J. T. Smith (*Nollekens and his Times*, Vol. I, p. 205) that eccentric individual intended to leave £1,000 apiece. Nollekens died in 1823 at the age of 86, and nothing came of the bequests. Lady Chambers survived until 1839. She was sixteen years old at the time of her marriage and Dr. Johnson describes her as "exquisitely beautiful" (44).

(42) Chambers had also a house at Cossipore: and another, probably, in Old Post Office Street.

(43) There were two Fowkes in Calcutta. The elder, Joseph, joined with Nuncomar in charging Hastings with the acceptance of bribes. His son, Francis, was Secretary to the Council and attended the famous meeting in June, 1777, when Clavering took the oath as Governor-General in supersession of Hastings. Joseph Fowke was a friend of Dr. Johnson: See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, pp. 112-113.

(44) See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, pp. 151, 152, for further details regarding the Chambers family.

Sir John Anstruther followed Chambers as Chief Justice and held office for eight years (1793-1806). He was created a baronet upon his appointment: and in 1808 succeeded his brother as fourth holder of the Nova Scotia baronetcy already enjoyed by the family. Before coming to India he had sat in the House of Commons from 1790 to 1796 and was one of the managers of the impeachment of Warren Hastings. He was re-elected to the Parliament of 1807: and on March 16, 1808, moved and carried (by a majority of 180 to 29) a resolution approving of the administration of Wellesley. Three years later he died. Upon the occasion of his retirement from the Bench, the Grand Jury on December 5, 1806, presented him with an address, and requested permission to place his portrait in the Town Hall "when that building was completed", which it was in 1813. The portrait was duly painted: but it hangs, not in the Town Hall, but in the Chief Justice's Court. No painter's name is to be found on the canvas, but the picture may reasonably be ascribed to George Chinnery.

Chinnery was certainly the author of the admirable work of art which
 Sir Henry Russell. adorns the walls of the Sessions Court. It is a portrait (robed in red) of Sir Henry Russell who succeeded Sir William Dunkin as puisne judge in 1797: and was promoted to the office of Chief Justice on the retirement of Sir John Anstruther. This picture was likewise painted in 1806 or the beginning of 1807: and was similarly intended for the Town Hall. It was the gift of "the Native Inhabitants of Calcutta," who presented Russell with the following address on October 29, 1806 (14th Kartick, 1215 B.S.):

My Lord.—You having been now, to the inexpressible joy of us, the native inhabitants of the Town of Calcutta, appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bengal, we feel we do not execute our duty without offering you our humble and warmest thanks for the unwearied attention which you have bestowed towards securing the peace and promoting the prosperity and happiness of the people in general subject to the British Government in India, while acting for a period of eight years as a puisne judge of the said Court.

Amongst your other eminent qualities as a judge your care and vigilance in establishing a pure administration of justice has afforded such real benefit to the inhabitants, that we with a great sense of obligation consider ourselves ever bound in gratitude to your goodness, and in order to have the honour of recording our acknowledgment of the benefits we have received we humbly solicit to be permitted to take the liberty of placing your portrait in the Court House for the present and afterwards in the Town Hall when that building may be ready for such purposes.

It is and will be our continued prayer to the Supreme Providence to grant you a long and happy life and continue us for many years under your protection.

We have the honour to be with the greatest respect Your
lordship's most obedient and humble servants,

Maharajah Sookmoy Roy	Boho Maharany (widow of
Bahadur,	Maharajah Mokund Bullub),
Maharajah Rajcrishna	Cossi Nauth Dutt,
Bahadur,	Gockool Chunder Mitter,
Shamol Doss Baboo,	Roy Ramsoonder Mitter,
Sham Charan Baboo,	Chaitanya Charan Sett,
Gopee Mohan Baboo,	Nundo Laul Sett,
Gopee Mohan Thacor,	Brindabun Bysack,
Hurry Mohan Thacor,	Boidyo Nauth Mukapadya,
Ladlee Mohan Thacor,	Pirtiram Monna,
Nilmoney Mullick,	Ram Sebuck Mullick,
Ram Lochan Mullick,	Nilmoney Mitter,
Roop Chand Roy,	Rajah Deby Singh,
Lalla Crishna Chunder	Maharajah Udwanta,
Baboo,	Maharajah Kirti Chand,
Muddun Gopaul Bose,	Nabob Wassick Ally Khan
Juggernaut Pershaud Bose,	

The sequel to the address will be found in an advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of Thursday, November 5, 1807:

Proposals for Publishing by subscription, an engraving to be made from the Picture of the Hon. Sir Henry Russell, Kt., Chief Justice of the Court of Judicature in Bengal, which was painted by the desire and at the expence of the Native Inhabitants of Calcutta by George Chinnery: to be engraved in London by W. Sharpe. The size of the plate will be 15 by 21 inches. The price to subscribers will be Three Gold Mohurs: Half to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the Remainder on the delivery of the Print which will be delivered either in India or London, at the option of the subscribers. Subscriptions will be received either at Mr. Chinnery's House, in Tank Square, Calcutta, where, after the 1st November, the Picture may be seen, or at the Bank of Hindoostan. The Impressions will be faithfully delivered in the order they are subscribed for.

Sir Henry Russell's principal claim to remembrance is derived however from his relationship to Rose Aylmer who died in Calcutta in March 1800 at the early age of twenty (45) and whose fame is "carved as it were in ivory or in gems" in Landor's elegy. But William Hickey was also his clerk: a circumstance which explains the presentation of his portrait to the

(45) A daughter of the Chief Justice, who was named Rose Aylmer Russell, was baptized at St. John's Church in the same year (1800). Rose Aylmer's younger brother, Capt. J. T. Aylmer, who was aide-de-camp to the Governor General (Lord Minto) died in Calcutta in 1818 at the age of 28. They were the children of the fourth Lord Aylmer, who married Lady Russell's sister.

Judge by Chinnery in 1808 (the year of his departure from Calcutta). The picture which has disappeared, was "hung in Russell's dining room in the Court House" according to Hickey's own statement: and we know from Lady Nugent's journal (46) that Russel was actually living there in 1812. He had another residence in the street which now bears his name (47). The house which stood on the site now covered by Nos. 12 and 13, was subsequently occupied by Sir Barnes Peacock and John Paxton Norman judge of the High Court (who was assassinated by a Mahomedan fanatic in 1871 as he was ascending the steps of the Town Hall). It is now the property of the Royal Calcutta Turf Club.

Russell received a baronetcy in 1812 and retired in the following year. His wife was a sister of Earl Whitworth, the British Ambassador at Paris, who was publicly insulted by Napoleon after the peace of Amiens. Three of their six sons entered the Company's service. Henry who succeeded his father as second baronet in 1836 and died in 1852, was Resident at Hyderabad in 1810, and was described by Wellesley as "the most promising man he ever knew": Charles entered Parliament after leaving India and died in 1856: and Francis Whitworth, became Salt Agent at Chittagong and died there in 1852 in the 44th year of his service.

Between the years 1803 and 1824 the office of Advocate-General was held by two distinguished figures in English public life. "Bobus" Smith. Robert Percy Smith ("Bobus" Smith) was the brother of Sydney Smith and as great a wit. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1797 and enrolled as an advocate on October 22, 1803. His appointment as Advocate General in 1803 was due to the influence of Sir Francis Baring, who was a Director of the Company from 1779 to 1810. Sir James Mackintosh wrote of him: "I hear frequently of Bobus. His fame among the natives is greater than that of any pundit since the days of Manu". He returned to England with a fortune in February 1811 (48) and sat in Parliament in 1812 and again from 1818 to 1826. He died in 1845 at the age of 75. "You should always contrive to have some blooming youth fresh from England to sit next to you: the mosquitoes are sure to go to him": was the advice which he gave to Lord Minto. His son, Robert Vernon Smith, was President of the Board of Control from 1855 to 1858 and was created Baron Lyveden in 1859. Macaulay met "Bobus" at dinner in London in December, 1833 and thus records the conversation:

(46) See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, p. 106.

(47) The street was then unnamed, and regarded as part of the "district" of Chowringhee. Cf. *Calcutta Gazette* of November 22, 1798: "Sir Henry Russell presents his compliments to the gentlemen educated at the Charter House School, and requests the honor of their company at Dinner at his house at Chowringhee on Wednesday, the 12th of December, at 5 o'clock, to celebrate the anniversary of the Founder's Day."

(48) He actually sent in his letter of resignation on March 12, 1811, while on board the ship *Diana*, which was taking him to Europe (Home Dept., Public, March 22, 1811, No. 3).

I asked him about the climate [of Calcutta]. Nothing, he said, could be pleasanter, except in August and September. He never ate or drank so much in his life. Indeed, his looks do credit to Bengal: for a healthier man of his age [63] I never saw. We talked about expenses. "I cannot conceive", he said, "how any body at Calcutta can live on less than £3,000 a year, or can contrive to spend more than £4,000."

Two of "Bobus" Smith's brothers obtained writerships. Cecil Smith came out to Madras in 1789 and was appointed to be Senior Member of the Board of Trade in 1813, but died on December 8 of that year at the Cape of Good Hope. Courtenay Smith arrived in Bengal in 1792. In December 1820 he was appointed to be a judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut: and, according to the *Oriental Herald*, exhibited considerable independence of character, as a result of which he was boycotted by Calcutta Society. He was scarcely visited and was bitterly attacked: he was compelled to fight a duel: and he was more than once suspended from office. Among other matters he denounced "the toleration of the practice of Suttee" as "a reproach to our government" and maintained that "the entire and immediate abolition of it would be attended with no sort of danger." The opinion was shared by John Herbert Harington (member of the Supreme Council from 1821 to 1827): but Lord Amherst declined to concur, holding that "the authoritative interposition of government would produce very serious consequences." Smith was, in spite of his differences with the Government, appointed to officiate as Chief Judge of the Adawlut in April 1825. In 1828 he was in Europe on absentee allowance and retired on annuity in May, 1830.

Edward Strettell followed Smith as Advocate General from 1811 to 1816: and was succeeded in 1818 by Serjeant Robert Spankie. Serjeant Spankie, the only member of the Ancient Order of the Coif to hold the office. He was enrolled as an advocate on January 30, 1818 and retired in 1824. In the year following he argued in defence of the Regulations for the control of the Press which had been introduced in Bengal by Lord Amherst (49). "The greatest and most extensive injury which you could do to the natives of that country under the present circumstances", said the Serjeant, "would be to give them an unlicensed and uncontrolled press." It was Spankie who gave Lord Chancellor Campbell, an old St. Andrew's acquaintance, his start in life in London by procuring for him a post as reporter on the *Morning Chronicle*.

Robert Cutlar Fergusson (March 7, 1807) acted as Advocate General on the retirement of Strettell and until the arrival of Serjeant Spankie from England. He had been appointed Standing Counsel in 1816 and was Sheriff in 1810. We find him presiding over the St. Andrew's Day dinner

(49) The Regulation subjected the whole of the Bengal Press to a license, which could be granted or withheld at the pleasure of the Governor-General, and also prohibited the publication or sale of any printed matter of which the Governor-General might disapprove.

in 1814 and 1815. After his retirement from India he was a Director of the East India Company from 1830 to 1834 and M. P. for Kirkcudbright in 1832.

James Weir Hogg who was admitted as an advocate on January 7, 1815, claims attention as the only member of the Calcutta Bar who became Chairman of the East India Company. He was appointed Registrar of the Supreme Court and Administrator General in 1822 and retired ten years later with a large fortune. From 1835 to 1847 he was M.P. for Beverley and sat for Honiton from 1847 to 1857. He was a director of the East India Company from 1839 to 1858 and a member of the Council of India from 1858 to 1872. In 1846 and again in 1852 he was elected Chairman of the Court, having served the office of Deputy Chairman in 1845, 1850, and 1851. He refused the Governorship of Bombay in 1853, when Lord Elphinstone was appointed in his place, was created a baronet in 1846, and died in 1876. By his marriage at St. John's Church in 1822 to Mary Swinton the daughter of Samuel Swinton of the Civil Service he had a large family. Three of his sons entered the Civil Service: Fergusson Floyer Hogg, who died at Chunar in 1862, Sir Frederick Russell Hogg (1857-1869) who became Postmaster General, and Sir Stuart Saunders Hogg (1853-1877) the well known Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation, after whom the New Market is (perhaps unhappily) named. The second son, Charles Swinton Hogg, was like his father an advocate of the Supreme Court and Administrator-General, and died in Calcutta in 1870. The youngest of the seven brothers, Quintin Hogg, founded the Polytechnic in London and was the father of Sir Douglas Hogg, the present Attorney-General. The sixth son, Stapleton Cotton Hogg, was for many years a clerk at the India House and India Office. The eldest son Sir James McGarel Hogg, was the last Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and was created a peer in 1885 under the title of Baron Magheramorne. James Weir Hogg's brother Charles was admitted as an attorney on June 28, 1821.

Herbert Abingdon Draper Compton began life as a private soldier in the Company's army. He bought himself out, and articulated himself in an attorney's office in Madras. Later on he went to Europe and after supporting himself by journalism was called to the Bar at Lincolns Inn in 1808. On June 15, 1815 he was enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court at Fort William; and five weeks later (July 26, 1815), being then a widower, married Sarah Cherry Mullins at St. John's Church. The event is worthy of record, if only for the fact that the register was signed by George Chinnery, the artist. Compton served the office of Sheriff in 1820, and became Advocate-General of Madras in 1822 (50). He was re-admitted as an advocate at Calcutta on March 19,

(50) The *Dictionary of National Biography* is incorrect in describing Compton as Advocate-General at Calcutta as well as at Madras. He never filled the former office. His first wife whom he married in 1798 was the daughter of Dr. Canne, a surgeon in the Company's service.

1828. Mr. S. Kumar of the Imperial Library, has come across the following announcement in the Supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette* for March 19, 1828 (evening): "Herbert Compton, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, having resigned the office of the Advocate-General, Madras, and returned to Calcutta, took the usual oaths and his seat at the bar of the Supreme Court, this morning." He proceeded to Europe at the end of 1830 and returned in April of the following year as Chief Justice of Bombay. In 1839 he retired and died in 1846, at the age of seventy-six.

Sir Edward Hyde East is the only Chief Justice who is commemorated in Calcutta in marble. His statue by Sir Francis Chantrey, and his successors, which testifies to his services in the cause of education, formerly stood in the Grand Jury Room of the old Supreme Court building and has now been placed at the head of the main staircase leading to the upper floor of the High Court. He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1786 and succeeded Sir Henry Russell as Chief Justice in 1813. On his retirement in 1822 he sat in Parliament as member for Winchester from 1823 to 1830 when he was appointed a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He died in 1847 at the age of 83, having been created a baronet in 1823.

His son James Buller East, who succeeded him in the baronetcy, was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple on February 3, 1813, and admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on January 7, 1815. He was then twenty-six and survived until 1878. Returning to England he was elected a Bencher of his Inn in 1856 and served the office of Reader in 1869. He followed his father in the representation of Winchester in 1830, and sat till 1832, and again from 1835 to 1864.

Sir Robert Henry Blosset, who was the maternal uncle of George Grote the historian, was sworn in as Chief Justice on December 23, 1822, and died suddenly at the age of 47 on February 1, 1823, after holding his first Quarter Sessions. He had already created a most favourable impression. An Indian panegyrist wrote of him that "among the millions whom God has created there can be but few persons possessed of such excellences, so wise, so merciful, so condescending, so zealous in repressing the wicked, so kind a protector of the poor and upright." It is related of him that he was almost as accomplished a linguist as Sir William Jones. By the time his ship cast anchor in the Hooghly, he was already so proficient in Hindustani that he was teaching others on board: and had also acquired a knowledge of Persian and Sanskrit.

The tenure of office of his successor was even shorter. Sir Christopher Puller took his seat on April 18, 1824, and died at the age of 50 of fever on May 26, five weeks later (51). During his short life in Calcutta he

(51) Those were unhealthy days for King's Judges in India. Cholera carried off Sir Willingham Franklin, brother of Sir John Franklin and puisne judge at Madras in 1824 after a tenure of office of two years: and his wife and infant child died a few months later. Sir Francis Bayley, Recorder of Penang, died likewise in 1824, two months after his arrival. Sir Ralph Rice, puisne judge at Bombay, came from Penang in October 1824 and died shortly after leaving India in 1826. Sir Edward West who was appointed Recorder of

lived in the old Government House in Fort William, now used as a soldiers' institute. Both he and Sir Henry Blosset lie buried under two of the four plain monuments within an enclosure on the western side of St. John's Churchyard.

Barristers in those days were in the habit of charging extravagant fees if we may judge from an incident which occurred in Bombay in 1823. Sir Edward West, who was then Recorder (52) intervened on the complaint of an attorney, Mr. Ayrton: and when the Bar remonstrated he declared their memorial to be "libellous" and suspended five barristers for six months, ordering the attorneys to act in their places. Lady West records in her diary on January 25, 1824: "Everything went off very well in court yesterday with the one Barrister, and we hear there is more business than ever there was". On April 8 she notes that "the suspension of the Barristers was over yesterday"; and a week later Mr. Norton the Advocate-General, and Mr. Le Mesurier re-appeared in Court "and all behaved much more respectfully than they ever did before" (53).

In place of Sir Christopher Puller Sir Charles Edward Grey, who had been called to the Bar in 1811, was brought up from Madras where he has been sitting as a puisne judge since May 15, 1820. The appointment was not at all popular. Both the puisne judges at Calcutta had come from Madras and were his seniors. Sir Francis Macnaghten had been appointed to Madras in May 1809 and was transferred to Bengal in July 1815, and had twice acted as Chief Justice. Sir Antony Buller came out to Madras as puisne judge in September 1815 and received his appointment in Calcutta in 1817, in succession to Sir John Royds. The result was that Macnaghten resigned his seat on the Bench in 1825 and sailed for England, being "accompanied to Chandpal Ghaut by Sir Antony Buller, the barristers, attorneys and officers of the Court, and a large concourse of the community." Sir Antony Buller followed him into retirement in 1827. Their successors were Sir John Franks (1825-1834) and Sir Edward Ryan (1827-1833).

Grey, however, fully justified his selection. Unusual honours awaited him when he retired from the office of Chief Justice in 1832. He was appointed Commissioner to Canada in 1835. From 1838 to 1841 he was M. P. for Tynemouth. In 1841 he became Governor of Barbadoes and after serving in that office for five years, was Governor of Jamaica from 1847 to 1853 in succession to the eighth Earl of Elgin. He died in 1865.

Bombay in 1822 and first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in the year following, died at Poona in 1828. His predecessors were even more unfortunate. Sir Alexander Anstruther succeeded Sir James Mackintosh as Recorder in 1812, and died in 1819. Sir George Cooper, puisne judge at Madras, who came over to act, died almost immediately; and so did Sir William Evans, Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster who arrived in 1821 to take over the permanent appointment. Sir Antony Buller, puisne judge at Calcutta, had to be sent for to act until the arrival of Sir Edward West.

(52) The Supreme Court at Bombay was constituted on March 8, 1824, when the Charter was proclaimed and Sir Edward West took his seat as Chief Justice.

(53) "Bombay in the Days of George IV" by F. D. Drewitt (1907).

He was followed as Chief Justice by Sir William Oldnall Russell a serjeant-at-law and author of "Russell on Crimes", who was sworn in on July 4, 1832, and died on January 22, 1833. He is buried at Penang, where he had gone for the sake of his health. It was probably his son, also named William Oldnall Russell (54) who was at Haileybury from 1834-1836, came out to Bombay as a writer in 1835, and died in that city on March 25, 1836. The tragic similarity in the Indian career of both father and son will be observed.

In the year of Spankie's departure for England (1824) John Pearson, Advocate-General from 1824 to 1840, and Charles Robert Prinsep, who filled the same office from 1852 to 1855, were enrolled as advocates (August 2) and also Thomas Edward Mitchell Turton (January 7) William Lennox Cleland (March 13) and Theodore Dickens (October 22). Longueville Loftus Clarke was a year their senior (January 13, 1823).

There are interesting references to Turton in the *Reminiscences of Sir Thomas Turton*. Captain Gronow (1889) and also in Mr. J. B. Atlay's biographies of the Victorian Chancellors (1908). Mr. Atlay in his account of Lord Chelmsford writes (Vol. II, p. 86):

Frederick Thesiger was called to the Bar on November 18, 1818.

The Surrey Sessions then presented a remarkable opening for talent. The lead had been suddenly snatched by a young barrister, Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Turton, at the very bottom of the list. For twelve months Thesiger was his only junior, and appeals required two counsel. When Turton accepted an appointment in India three or four years later, Thesiger succeeded to the lead which he never lost.

It was not, however, the acceptance of an appointment which brought Turton to Calcutta. He had married his deceased wife's sister: an act which in those days was regarded as an offence not only against the law, but against the moral code (55). The circumstance is hinted at by Gronow (Vol. I, pp. 145-146):

The career of Turton promised to be a brilliant one: and had he not offended against the moral feeling of the country and lost his position, he would have mounted to the highest step in the ladder of fortune. At Eton he showed himself a dashing and a daring boy and was looked upon by Dr. Goodall, then Head Master, as one of his best classical scholars: by his school-fellows he was even more highly respected, being the acknowledged "cock of the school". Turton's history in after life I will not pursue, but must express my regret that he threw away golden opportunities

(54) William Oldnall Russell, who may have been the same person, was appointed Sealer on July 4, 1832, the day upon which the Chief Justice was sworn in, and resigned in the following October.

(55) A grave in the Lower Circular Road cemetery bears the inscription: "Adeline Maria, wife of T. E. M. Turton, died July 14, 1841, aged 41".

of showing his love for classic lore and his abilities to meet the difficulties of life (56).

Turton became Registrar of the Court and ultimately Administrator General. In 1827 he acted for a short time as Advocate-General. His father, Sir Thomas Turton, who had been Chief Clerk in the Court of Common Pleas, sat in the House of Commons as member for Southwark, and in the Parliament of 1808 attempted unsuccessfully to impeach Lord Wellesley (57). A speech of his in the House of Commons would appear to form the subject of the following allusion in Sir Charles D'Oyly's "Tom Raw Griffin," which was published in 1828:

Most English people think we are immoral,
Leaving our conscience Westward of the Cape
As that Sir Thomas T-r-t-n said before all
The Parliament assembled—the great ape!

In the *Calcutta Directory* for 1837 the following note appears opposite the name of Turton "expected to return daily". He was then in England giving evidence in favour of the establishment of steam communication with India before a Committee of the House of Commons (58). In 1844 he succeeded his brother in the baronetcy and died at the Mauritius on April 13, 1854, when on his way to Europe to recruit his health. Towards the end of his career in Calcutta he fell into financial difficulties for which he was not responsible and was committed to the civil side of the jail, where a ward used at one time to be pointed out as Turton's ward. Here he used to receive clients and write opinions.

Theodore Dickens was appointed Equity Registrar and Prothonotary on February 15, 1833, Master, Accountant-General and Keeper of the Records on April 1, 1835, and Equity Registrar again on January 10, 1837. Turton and he were among the first to build houses at Darjeeling: and the locations assigned to them are shown in a plan of the station drawn in 1841. The house of Turton stood on the site of the Shrubbery, now known as Government House: and that of Dickens was just below it, on the slope of the hill (59). The "Hurkaru" wrote in November 1840: "Of private houses there are already about thirty, all of wattle and *dab*: some with iron roofs, but most with bamboo *chappars*—mere cottages of a better sort."

Longueville Clarke was instrumental in the foundation of more than one Calcutta institution, such as the Bar Library (which Longueville Clarke celebrated its centenary on June 15 of this year) the Metcalfe Hall (now used as the Income Tax Office) and the Ice House in

(56) I am indebted for these references to Mr. William Jackson the "Father of the Calcutta Bar", who was enrolled as an Advocate in 1866 and is still (1925) happily with us.

(57) See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 99.

(58) A report of his evidence will be found in Alexander's *East India Magazine* for 1838 (Vol. XV, pp. 330 and 411).

(59) See the article by the late Sir Walter Buchanan, I.M.S., in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, pp. 445, 447. The plan is reproduced opposite p. 443. It was discovered in the *Bengal and Agra Guide and Gazetteer* for 1841, of which there is a copy in the Imperial Library.

Hare Street, which was swept away in 1882 to make way for an extension of the Small Cause Court (60).

It is worthy of record that the original members of the Bar Library Club numbered exactly sixteen. Ten were practising barristers; John Pearson (Advocate-General), George Money, Richard Marnell, Roger Winter, Charles Prinsep, T. E. M. Turton, Longueville Clarke, W. L. Cleland, Theodore Dickens and Edward Bird. The other six were officers of the Court. Of these four were advocates: Thomas Lewin, Master and Record Keeper (who was succeeded in those offices by Money in 1826), James Weir Hogg, Registrar, John Wheatley, Sworn Clerk, and Robert O'Dowda, Clerk of the Papers. William Hunter Smoult, Prothonotary and Elliot Macnaghten, Examiner and Sealer—who complete the total of sixteen—were not members of the Bar. James Minchin was elected on December 8, 1825. Fortunes must have been made rapidly in those days: for with the exception of Hogg (January 7, 1815), Lewin (October 22, 1816), Money (October 22, 1817), Marnell (June 15, 1821) and Wheatley (September 26, 1822) none of the barrister-members had more than a couple of years' standing as advocates. Six of the ten in practice—namely, Pearson, Winter, Prinsep, Cleland, Dickens, and Bird—had in fact been admitted in 1824, the year before Clarke summoned his first meeting; and Clarke, Turton and O'Dowda were enrolled in 1823.

There is a curious account, in the "Englishman" of December 31, 1835, of an "eventful meeting" held on the previous evening, at the Bengal Club House (then in Esplanade East), in which the principal actors are Clarke and Joachim Hayward Stocqueler, the editor of the "Englishman", of whom more will presently be heard. The Hon'ble W. H. Leslie Melville, of the Civil Service, who was afterwards a Director of the Company from 1845 to 1855, was in the chair, and between forty and fifty members were present.

Mr. Longueville Clarke brought forward the following motion, which was seconded by Mr. W. Bracken; "Resolved, that the statement contained in an article of the 'Englishman' newspaper of the 11th instant, wherein it is alleged, that the manner in which the invitation to the Commander-in-Chief [Sir Henry Fane] was preferred, was obviously to subserve selfish and slavish purposes, is untrue, and conveys a scandalous imputation on some of the members of the Club." Mr. Clarke, in the course of a long speech, stated, as we understood him, that he should follow up that motion with another, having more direct reference to Mr. Stocqueler. Mr. [James] Pattle met this motion with the following amendment which was seconded by Mr. [Frederick] Osborne—"That the very reprehensible editorial article of the

(60) The Ice House was a strangely shaped globular building perched on the top of a flight of steps. A notorious murder was committed in it. The ice which was stored there was brought from Wenham Lake by American ships, and was sold at the rate of three annas a seer.

'Englishman' newspaper of the 11th instant, has not disturbed the harmony and order of the Club." A very animated debate took place, in which Mr. Longueville Clarke, Mr. [Theodore] Dickens, Colonel Beatson, and others, spoke in favour of the original motion—and Mr. Pattle, Mr. O'Hanlon (61), Mr. Osborne, Mr. Mackinnon, and others, against it. On a division, Mr. Pattle's amendment was carried. Mr. Clarke did not, therefore, venture on his promised second motion. There were several proxies from Mofussil and Presidency members in the room, but at Mr. Stocqueler's request the motion for their reception was not pressed to a division. When the matter had been decided, Mr. Stocqueler stepped forward, and declared that though he had determined not to apologize further than he had done in his letters, while any question was before the meeting—lest it should be said that he made concessions in order to shirk the discussion—he could have no hesitation, now that the matter was decided in his favor, in apologising to the committee at large, and to Colonel Beatson in particular, for imputing to them improper motives of action, which did not appear, by the statements put forth, to have guided them.

Clarke was one of the protagonists in the Homeric struggle between Western and Eastern education in which the leaders were Macaulay on the one side and Henry Thoby Prinsep the elder on the other. He chose to fight under the banner of Prinsep and the orientalist; and his feelings carried him to such a length that he challenged the missionary Dr. Alexander Duff to a duel. He died as recently as 1863.

The Imperial Library possesses a copy of a little known "View of Calcutta, now exhibiting at the Panorama, Leicester Square: painted for the proprietor Robert Burford from drawings taken for that purpose by Captain Robert Smith of H. M. 44th Regiment." The date is 1830. Upon the key-plan is indicated the house of Longueville Clarke on the Esplanade, between the house of Mr. Swinhoe the attorney, which stood at the river-end, and the Bank of Bengal, beyond which is the Supreme Court "a building of a very massive description, with an enormous colonnade, giving the whole a very heavy and graceless appearance". Next in order are the houses of Mr. Money, Master of the Court, and Mr. Hogg "Register," the latter being at the corner of Old Post Office Street. At the opposite corner, on the site of Temple Chambers, is the house of Mr. Pearson, Advocate-General, which is shown next to the Town Hall.

Mention must here be made of the fate which overtook William Lennox Cleland (March 13, 1824) who was enrolled as an advocate in Bombay in 1823, and came over to Calcutta in the following year. The inscription upon his tomb in the Scottish cemetery records that he was drowned on

(61) Patrick O'Hanlon was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on January 28, 1826, and was subsequently Advocate-General of Madras.

October 7, 1832, at the age of 33, by the upsetting of his boat in a gale on the river near Calcutta.

Charles Robert Prinsep (August 2, 1824) was a brother of John Prinsep of "Prinsep's Ghat" and of Henry Thoby Prinsep the elder. He officiated as Advocate-General in 1845 on the death of Lyall, and again in 1848, on the promotion of Sir James Colville to a judgeship: and was permanently appointed in 1852. In 1855 he retired, after thirty years' practice at the Bar, and died in 1864 at the age of 74.

James Minchin (December 8, 1825) was first of all an attorney of the Court (India List for 1820) and was subsequently appointed Master of the Supreme Court at Madras. He married firstly a Miss Innes and secondly on October 18, 1821, Susan Cherry, the eldest daughter of Peter Cherry of the Madras Civil Service. His son, James Innes Minchin, was a member of the Madras Civil Service from 1843 to 1873: and was a renowned chess-player and Dante scholar: and his daughter Susan Jessie married Joseph John Cotton of the Madras Civil Service (1831-1862) whose father John Cotton, also a Madras civilian, was a Director of the East India Company from 1833 to 1853, and Chairman of the Court in 1843.

Charles Thackeray (October 22, 1827) was a son of "Sylhet" Thackeray, and a brother of Richmond Thackeray of the Civil Service, whose son, the novelist, was born in Calcutta on July 18, 1811, and lived in the Magistrate's House at Alipore from 1812 to 1817. Owing to his intemperate habits, he failed to make a success at the Bar, and drifted into journalism. When Joachim Hayward Stocqueler bought "John Bull" in 1833 for £1,800 and renamed it "The Englishman", he engaged Thackeray as a leader-writer, with John Farley Leith (November 1, 1832) and other advocates of the Supreme Court. Stocqueler tells us that he circumvented Thackeray's weakness by locking him into a room with pens, ink, paper, and a bottle of claret. The understanding was that he was not to be let out until he had finished both the claret and the leading article: and we are assured that it was always faithfully observed. Editor and contributor soon disagreed, however: and during the ten years preceding his death in 1846, Thackeray was a member of the permanent staff of the "Bengal Hurkaru". Most of his best writing was done for that paper: and an examination of its files will show that he spared neither "The Englishman" nor his former chief.

The journalistic atmosphere of Calcutta at that time was of a peculiar character, if we may judge from Stocqueler's account of it:

Sam Smith of the *Hurkaru* dared not tell Alexander and Co., they were scoundrels: he owed the house seven lakhs of rupees. William Adam could not allow Mackintosh and Co. to be abused in the *India Gazette*, for it had been their paper; and George Prinsep who edited the *Courier* was an ex-partner of the great house of Palmer and Co. "Rogues all?" Happily I had no such scruples. True, I had bought the offete *John Bull* (then edited by

a Mr. Bignell, who always fell asleep at dinner before the cloth was removed) from the assignees of Cruttenden and Co., but though they would have burked the expression of opinion adverse to the Agency Houses, if they could, I knew that I was in a condition to bear their hostility, and so opened the pages of the *Englishman* (for so I now named the paper which had so long offended libreal nostrils are the *John Bull*) to the complaints of the sufferers—the destitute widow—the indigent orphan—all, in fact, who had lost their property (62).

The successor of Sir William Oldnall Russell as Chief Justice was Sir Edward Ryan who had in 1825 published with him a volume of reports of Crown Cases Reserved. His portrait hangs both in the Judges' Library and in the Town Hall. The painter in the first case was Sir Martin Archer Shee, P.R.A. and in the second F. R. Say: and both pictures are undoubted works of art. Ryan was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn on June 23, 1817 and his puisne judgeship had come to him in 1827 when he was only thirty-four. He held the office of Chief Justice from 1833 until 1841. Upon his retirement he was sworn of the Privy Council and sat on the Judicial Committee until 1862, when he became a salaried member of the Civil Service Commission. He died in 1874 at the age of eighty-one. There are frequent references to Ryan in the writings which treat of Calcutta in the twenties and thirties of last century. He was one of Macaulay's intimates and threw all his influence into the scale on behalf of English education. Victor Jacquemont stayed with the Ryans at Garden Reach when he visited Calcutta in 1829, and notes that "notwithstanding his Judgeship, Sir Edward is a great lover of science". He was, in fact, a member of the Royal Astronomical Society and an early friend of John Herschel (63).

Charles Augustus Nott (March 1, 1835) died in Calcutta on June 9, 1841, at the age of 35. He was the son of Major General Sir William Nott, G.C.B., who married in 1805, when a subaltern, Letitia Swinhoe, the daughter of Henry Swinhoe, a well-known attorney of the Supreme Court (admitted 1779: died in Calcutta on October 27, 1808). The Swinhoe family is still represented in Calcutta. Henry Swinhoe Nott (1810-1812) an infant son of Sir William Nott, is buried in the South Park Street cemetery: and his second daughter, Maria, married Richard Wellesley Barlow of the Civil Service on March 2, 1835, the day after Charles Nott's admission as an advocate.

(62) The reference is to the great financial crisis which began in January 1833 with the failure of the long established agency house of Mackintosh and Co.

(63) Frances, the eldest daughter of Sir Edward Ryan, was married on June 14, 1836, to George Udny of the Civil Service whose father, George Udny senior, was a member of the Supreme Council from 1801 to 1807 and acted as Deputy Governor in 1805. The elder Udny died on October 24, 1830 at the age of 70 and is commemorated by a tablet in the Old Mission Church. Frances Udny died in Calcutta in 1838 at the age of 21 and is buried in the North Park Street cemetery. A son, who was afterwards Colonel Sir William Cavendish Bentinck Ryan, was born to the Chief Justice in Calcutta in 1833.

Edward D'Oyly Barwell (October 26, 1835) appears to have been the son of Edward Richard Barwell (B.C.S. 1804-1837), and the godson of Sir Charles D'Oyly, the amateur artist. He acted as second to Frederick Osborne, another barrister (June 16, 1834) in a duel with that remarkably outspoken journalist Stocqueler: of which an account is given in *Alexander's East India Magazine* for July-December, 1837 (p. 273): and married on January 19, 1838, Anne, eldest daughter of Nathaniel John Halhed, (writer 1804: judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, 1835: died in Calcutta on August 1, 1838). He died in Calcutta on November 9, 1840, at the age of thirty: leaving a son who was born on May 5 of the same year.

Herman Geoffroy (March 7, 1836) must be classed with Charles Thackeray as a "child of misfortune". He was a Frenchman by birth and an extraordinarily gifted man—the master of six or seven European languages and an authority on English literature. But he suffered from the same propensity as Thackeray and fell into such poor circumstances that he was glad to accept the offer of the headmastership of the Oriental Seminary at a monthly salary of Rs. 100 with free quarters. Gour Mohan Addy, the founder of the Seminary, was in the habit of securing the services of competent Europeans who had come down in the world, and of employing them at exiguous rates of wages, in order that his pupils might obtain the benefit of correct English pronunciation. Western education had become suspect with the orthodox Hindu community, owing to Derozio's teachings at the Hindoo College and the proselytizing zeal of Dr. Alexander Duff and other missionaries. But under the supervision of Geoffroy, the Oriental Seminary rapidly attained a position of great importance. Among his pupils were Shambhunath Pandit, the first Indian judge of the High Court, Grish Chunder Ghose, and Koylas Chunder Bose. Khetter Chunder Ghose, another of his pupils, says of him in his autobiography: "Even in his most drunken moments Mr. Geoffroy by his learned quotations from English authors contributed very much to our progress in English literature." He established a debating Society at the school: and, writes Khetter Chunder, he "always complimented me upon my oratorical powers, calling me the Demosthenes of the Club, and another boy Shambhunath Pandit, the Phocion." His tombstone in the Circular Road cemetery, which was erected by his pupils, records that he died on November 16, 1845, at the age of forty.

Sir Benjamin Heath Malkin (puisne judge from 1835 to 1837) was a remarkable man. He was at first Recorder of Prince of Wales Island (Penang) for three years (1832-1835) and took the place at Calcutta in 1835 of Sir John Franks, an Irish barrister who was puisne judge from 1825 to 1834. His tenure of office was short, for he died almost exactly two years later, on October 20, 1837: but the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries was great. Macaulay, whose intimate friend he was, wrote the inscription on the memorial tablet in St. John's Church: and he was buried next to Blosset and Puller in the graveyard adjoining. The funeral hatchments of all three Judges hang in

St. John's Church. Those were days when the respective merits of Oriental and Western education formed the main topic of conversation in Calcutta: and Macaulay was warmly supported by Sir Edward Ryan, John Russell Colvin, Malkin, and his own brother-in-law Charles Trevelyan.

Sir John Peter Grant, who was Malkin's brother puisne, challenges

Sir John Peter Grant. attention for other reasons. His was a stormy career. He was admitted as a Scottish advocate in 1796 and was

called to the Bar at Lincolns Inn in 1802. In the Parliament of 1812 he sat as member for Great Grimsby, and represented Tavistock in the two following Parliaments. His troubles began with his appointment to the Bombay Court as a puisne judge in 1827. The Judges came to loggerheads with the Executive. Sir Edward West the Chief Justice died in August 1828 and Sir Charles Harcourt Chambers, the other puisne, in October, and Grant carried on the struggle alone. He closed the Court in 1829, but Lord Ellenborough who was at the Board of Control cut the knot by appointing the Advocate General (Sir John Dewar) as Chief Justice and a barrister from England (Sir William Seymour) as puisne judge, with the caustic comment that Grant would "now be like a wild elephant between two tame ones". Grant promptly resigned and came over to Calcutta where he was enrolled as an advocate on May 13, 1831. Two years later (1833) he was appointed to a puisne judgeship and retired in 1848, dying on the voyage to Europe (64). His son, John Peter the second, entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1827, was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1859 to 1862, and then filled the office of Governor of Jamaica from 1866 to 1874 (65). Another son, William Peter, was enrolled as an advocate on October 26, 1834, and promptly provided with the office of Master in Equity, a piece of nepotism which aroused much unfavourable comment.

Sir Charles William Blunt (November 4, 1837) was the sixth holder of a baronetcy which dates from 1720 and is prominently

Sir Charles Blunt.

associated with the name of another Charles William Bunt (third baronet) who died at Pulta on September 29, 1802, at the age of 72, and is commemorated by a tablet in St. John's Church. Blunt of Pulta came out to India at the age of fifty-three. Barwell is found recommending him to Hastings for a writership in 1783, as having run through his fortune and deserving patronage for the sake of his three sons and eight daughters. Hastings gave him the post of agent for the supply of army bullocks, and he obtained in addition a share in the post-office. Both his ventures succeeded, and he is said to have been worth £100,000 when he died. Five of his daughters married in India. His eldest son, Sir

(64) He was never Chief Justice, as stated in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

(65) John Peter Grant the second married Henrietta Plowden, the second daughter of Trevor John Chichele Plowden (Bengal Civil Service 1827-1861). Their daughter Elinor married Sir James Colville: and their son, John Peter the third, was a member of the Bengal Civil Service from 1855 to 1889. He was Judge of Hooghly, officiated as a Judge of the High Court in 1885, and died in June, 1893, six months after his father. John Peter the fourth is an advocate of the Scottish Bar, and sheriff substitute of his native county of Inverness.

Charles Robert Blunt, the fourth baronet, was in the Bengal Civil Service and subsequently M.P. for Lewes, and acted as one of the pall-bearers at Hastings' funeral. The second son, William, who was also in the Civil Service, was Governor of the short-lived Presidency of Agra from March to December 1834. The advocate who was born in Calcutta in 1810 and died in 1890 at the age of eighty, was succeeded as seventh baronet by his cousin William, who was also born in Calcutta in 1826 and was once more an Indian civilian and served in Bengal from 1846 to 1875. Sir John Harvey Blunt, who followed his brother as eighth baronet in 1902, died at Herne Bay in January 1922, at the age of eighty-four.

James Hume (June 15, 1839) who was afterwards Police Magistrate, was a famous amateur actor. With Henry Whitelock Torrens, a versatile civilian, who was his father-in-law (66), he appeared in Sheridan Knowles play "The Wife", when it was produced on March 8, 1841, at the reopening of the Sans Souci Theatre in Park Street (now St. Xavier's College) which had been destroyed by fire two years earlier. Mrs. Esther Leach, who was burned to death on the stage on November 2, 1843, took the part of Mariana and recited a metrical prologue written by Sir John William Kaye, then an officer in the Bengal Artillery. Hume's son James Torrens Hume, was well known to the past generation as Public Prosecutor at the Calcutta Police Court. It is said that during the whole of his long residence in India he disdained the use both of punkhas and of ice.

Sir Henry Wilmot Seton, the author of "Seton on Decrees" succeeded Malkin as a puisne judge of the Court in 1837, and held the office until 1848. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1809; and must therefore have been quite sixty years of age when he died at sea on July 26, 1848, on the voyage to England (67).

Sir Arthur William Buller, who succeeded Sir Henry Seton as puisne judge in 1848, must not be confused with Sir Antony the Bulls and the Kirkpatrick. Buller (1816 to 1827). He was the pupil of Carlyle and brother of Charles Buller the young politician, whom Bulwer Lytton eulogizes in his poem of "St. Stephens":—"Farewell, fine humorist, finer reasoner still, Lively as Luttrell, logical as Mill." Their father, Charles Buller of the Bengal Civil Service, married Isabella Kirkpatrick the daughter of Major General William Kirkpatrick. He figures in *Sartor Resartus* as Count Zähdarm, and his wife who was the belle of Calcutta in her day, was described by Carlyle in 1822 as "a graceful airy and ingeniously intelligent person of the gossamer type." Both their sons were born in Calcutta,

(66) Torrens arrived in Bengal in 1828 and died in Calcutta on August 10, 1862, and is buried in the Circular Road cemetery. He had been appointed Agent to the Governor-General at Moorshedabad in December 1846. In 1839 he assisted in the editing of the *Calcutta Star*, a weekly paper which afterwards became the daily *Eastern Star*; and founded the *Meerut Observer*.

(67) The statement in *Calcutta Old and New* (p. 719) that Seton was Chief Justice from 1843 to 1848 is incorrect.

Charles in 1807 and Arthur in 1808. It was at their house in Chowringhee that Mrs. Buller's uncle, James Achilles Kirkpatrick, the Hushmat Jung of Hyderabad history (68) died in October 1805.

The connexion with India of Sir Lawrence Peel, who was cousin of Sir Lawrence Peel, the great Sir Robert and was appointed Chief Justice in 1842, dates from March 1841, when at the age of 40, he joined the Calcutta Bar as Advocate-General. His popularity in Calcutta was great: and there are portraits of him by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A., in the Judges Library, and by Thomas Hudson in the Town Hall. It is said that he used to give away the whole of his official salary (69) in public charity. He lived first at Cossipore, as Sir Robert Chambers had done, and then at Garden Reach in a house now swallowed up by the extensive establishment of the ex-King of Oudh: and the house at Ventnor in which he died in 1884, was called by him Garden Reach. Upon his retirement from the Bench in December 1855, he was, like Sir Edward Ryan, appointed a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Peel was succeeded as Advocate-General by John Edwardes Lyall, a young man of thirty-one and a barrister of five years standing, who was admitted as an advocate in 1842. He was the son of George Lyall, a city merchant and M. P. for London, who was Director of the Company from 1830 to 1850 and Chairman of the Court in 1841. His career at Oxford had been a distinguished one: he was President of the Oxford Union in 1813 and was a contemporary of Mr. Gladstone. A tablet in the Presidency College bears testimony to the "grateful remembrance" in which he is held as "the zealous friend of the natives and first gratuitous lecturer on jurisprudence in this Hall." On his death from cholera at Government House, Barrackpore, on May 9, 1845, an unedifying debate took place in the House of Lords, to which reference is thus made in Thacker's *Monthly Overland Circular* for July 19, 1845.

On the 7th July, upon the enquiry being made of the vacant office of Advocate-General of Bengal being filled up, Lords Brougham and Ellenborough strongly animadverted upon the favoritism displayed by the Chairman of the Court of Directors in the last appointment to that dignity of his son, the late Mr. Lyall: Lord Denman defended the appointment. It will surprise many persons in India to learn that the honour was successively declined by no less than ten individuals to whom it was offered, before being finally accepted by Mr. Colville, of the Inner Temple.

(68) See the account of Kirkpatrick's career in *Calcutta Old and New* (pp. 502 to 508) which is based on articles by Sir Edward Strachey in *Blackwood* in 1893, and by Mr. J. J. Coiton in the *Calcutta Review* in 1899.

(69) Rs. 6,945-9-6 a month was the actual figure. The salary of each puisne judge was Rs. 5,209-3-0. In 1841 the Commander-in-Chief (Sir Jasper Nicolls) and the four members of the Supreme Council received Rs. 8,360 per mensem: and a Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut Rs. 4,789-9-4 (Rs. 57,475 per annum).

The recipient of this unexpected mark of good fortune was also a young man. He had been called to the Bar in 1835, and was 35 years old when he was sworn in as Advocate-General. Three years later, in 1848, he was appointed to a puisne judgeship, and succeeded Peel as Chief Justice in 1855. Upon his retirement in 1859, he became a Privy Councillor and member of the Judicial Committee and died in December 1880, at the age of 70. His house was in Old Post Office Street, on land now covered by the High Court.

Sir Charles Robert Mitchell Jackson succeeded Colville as Advocate-General in 1848 and was appointed in 1855 to a puisne judgeship which he held until 1863. His colleague on the Bench, Sir Mordaunt Lawson Wells, who succeeded Sir Arthur Buller in 1859 and retired in 1862, earned an unenviable notoriety in connexion with the trial before him of the Rev. James Long in the famous *Nil Durpan* case.

The fourteenth and last Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was Sir Barnes Peacock, who held the office from 1859 to 1862 and presided over the High Court, which was constituted in that year, until 1870. He had previously been Law Member of Council (in succession to J. E. D. Bethune) from 1852 to 1859; and was appointed a member of the Judicial Committee in 1872, dying as recently as 1890 at the age of eighty. Strange to say, there is no portrait of him at the High Court; and the story goes that this is due to the fact that the advocates did not like him. But he was a great Chief Justice, nevertheless.

William Ritchie (January 7, 1843) succeeded Charles Robert Prinsep as Advocate-General in 1856; and was appointed Law Member of the Governor-General's Council in October 1861. But he held the office only until March 22, 1862 when he died. His mother was a daughter of "Sylhet" Thackeray; and two of his sons continued the connexion with India: Sir Richmond Thackeray Ritchie who was Permanent Under Secretary at the India Office from 1909 to 1912, and John Gerald Ritchie, of the Bengal Civil Service, whose book "The Ritchies in India" contains an interesting collection of his father's letters. There is a monument to Ritchie in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, the inscription upon which was written by Colonel Yule. Sir Henry Maine described Ritchie as the finest lawyer he had ever known.

The last Advocate-General under the Supreme Court was Thomas Hardwicke Cowie (November 10, 1848) who succeeded Ritchie and continued to hold the post under the High Court until 1871. He was followed by Joseph Graham, the Standing Counsel, and then (in 1878) by Sir Gregory Charles Paul, who had been admitted as an advocate in 1855, and who died in office in 1899.

H. E. A. COTTON.

Notable Bengalis in 1806.

THE list of signatories to the address presented to Sir Henry Russell in 1806 (of which the text is given on page 182) is an epitome of Bengali Society of the time.

Maharajah Sookmoy Roy Bahadur was the grandson of Lakshmi Kanta Dhar, and ancestor of the late Rajah Dinendra Narayan Roy. A short account of the family will be found in *Bengal: Past and Present*; Vol. XXIX, p. 102. One of the plates in Sir Charles D'Oyly's "European in India" represents a nautch girl "exhibiting before an European family" in the house of "Sookma Roy, a person remarkable for many excellent qualities, especially for his attachment and hospitality towards Europeans." Maharajah Rajkrishna, of the Sobhabazar family, was the natural-born son of Nubkissen, and was the father of eight distinguished sons, prominent among whom were Rajah Bahadur Kali Krishna, Maharajah Kamal Krishna, and Maharajah Bahadur Sir Narendra Krishna, K.C.I.E. Shamol Doss, Sham Charan and Gopee Mohan were the sons of "Cossinaut Baboo" dewan to Lord Clive, who at the time of his death in 1792, was said to have been worth sixty lakhs of rupees (*Calcutta Gazette* for April 12, 1792). The late Baboo Damodar Das Burman, who was a well known citizen of Calcutta, was the grandson of Shamol Doss. Cossinaut Baboo purchased much valuable property in Calcutta from the famous Hazari Mal, and was the reputed founder of the temple at Kalighat. Nilmoney Mullick was the father of Rajah Rajendro Mullick.

The Thacors, or Tagores, stand in need of no introduction. Gopee Mohan was the son of Durpo Narayan Tagore, the banian of Edward Wheler, and sat to George Chinnery for his portrait. Roop Chend Roy was a wealthy banian of Burrabazar, and has given his name to a street in that locality. Lalla Crishna Chunder Baboo was the grandson of Ganga Gobind Singh of the Paikpara family, and ended his life as a recluse at Brindaban, where he established a religious endowment.

Muddun Gopaul Bose was the son of Dewan Kristoram Bose, a wealthy salt merchant of Shambazar where a street is called after him. Juggernaut Persaud Bose was a descendant of Dewan Nidhuram Bose of Bagbazar, and married the daughter of Hurree (or Srihari) Ghose of Kantapukur, the Dewan of the Company at Monghyr. Maharajah Mokund Bullub was the holder of the Puri Raj. Cossinauth Dutt was a descendant of Ram Chunder Dutt of Hatkhola, who made a fortune as a banian of the Company. Gokool Chunder Mitter was a salt speculator: who is said to have built up his fortune, and to have brought about the fall of the ancient Bishenpore Raj, by refusing to return the Raj deity Madhusudan, which had been pledged to him.

Roy Ramsoonder Mitter was the Company's Dewan at the Patna Opium Factory. His sons, Mohan Lall and Sham Lall, have streets named after them in the Shambazar quarter. Brindabun Bysack is likewise commemorated by a street which runs off the Upper Chitpore Road near Beadon Square. He and Jadabindhu Sett, the ancestor of Chaitanya Charan and Nundo Lall Sett, were well-known banians of English mercantile firms. The Setts derived a large income from sending Ganges water to distant parts, and their seal on the cover of the phial was accepted as a guarantee of genuineness.

Dewan Boidyonauth Mukapadya was the grandfather of Mr. Justice Onoocool Chunder Mookerjee. His son Lakshmi Narayan was secretary to the Hindoo College, and a street off Pathuriaghatta is named after him. Pirtiram Monna, the founder of the Marh family of Jaun Bazar, was banian to Burn and Company, and made a large fortune by purchasing the Zemindaries of Natore at a Collectorate sale for the small sum of Rs. 19,000.

Rajah Debi Singh, the ancestor of the Nashipore Raj family in Moorshedabad, was appointed Dewan of Bengal on the foundation of the Provincial Councils in 1773. His nephew, Udwanta Singh, has given his name to Rajah Woodmunt's Street which branches off from Strand Road, just before the Howrah Bridge is reached. From 1810 to 1821 he was the Dewan of Nawab Nazim Ali Jah. Maharajah Kirti Chand was the Maharajah of Burdwan. His Calcutta residence was at Garden Reach, and was sold to the ex-King of Oudh in 1859 for a lakh of rupees. Nabob Wassick Ally Cawn, the only Mahomedan in the list, is described in a letter of July 27, 1796, from the Commercial Resident at Hurripaul, as the Jagirdar of Kursurroye, in the Hooghly district. Ram Lochan Mullick and Ram Sebuck Mullick were members of the family to which the present writer belongs.

PROMOTHA NATH MULLICK.



BEGAM SAMRU.
FROM THE PICTURE BY W. MELVILLE;
AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE, ALLAHABAD.

Begam Samru.

THE career of Begam Samru has attracted the attention of many a historical scholar. But it is claimed by Professor Jadunath Sarkar in his foreword to the book which has been written by Mr. Brajendranath Banerji (1) that an attempt has now been made for the first time to present the biography of that remarkable woman on the basis of a critical study of all the material available, either in print or in manuscript.

A glance at the bibliography will show that Mr. Banerji has drawn from many sources. In the famous library of Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis at Satara the original news-letters are to be found which were addressed to the Peshwas by their agents at Delhi, Calcutta, Lucknow, and Pondicherry. These papers, which are in Marathi, are of primary historical importance: and it is to be hoped that the work of collating and translating them will not be long delayed. Mr. Banerji has had access to them and also to valuable Persian records, among which we may mention the *Waqai-i-Shah Alam Sani*, a manuscript in the possession of Professor Sarkar, which contains a diary by an inhabitant of Delhi of events from the sack of the city by Nadir Shah in 1739 A.D. to the eve of the entry of Lord Lake in 1800. In the Imperial Record Office at Calcutta, and, in a lesser degree, in the Punjab Secretariat, a number of the Begam's letters, and her will, have been preserved. Lastly, there are the references in English works: among which Sleeman's account of the Begam must be reckoned as the most reliable. Mr. Banerji has made excellent use of this varied matter and the result of his industry is a most readable and valuable book. The only authority which he appears to have overlooked is the description given by Mrs. Sherwood and reproduced in her life of which the latest edition was published in London in 1910.

The early history of the Begam Samru is wrapped in obscurity. Sleeman has it that she was a Sayyidani or lineal descendant of the Prophet. Others say that she was a dancing girl. Bussy in a letter of March 3, 1784 to the Maréchal de Castries describes her as a native of Kashmir. Mr. Banerji places the date of her birth in 1750 or 1751, pointing out that in a letter addressed to Pope Gregory the Sixteenth by Dyce Sombre, her adopted son and heir, in 1836 (which was the year of her death) she is said to have reached the age of eighty-five. In 1760 she came to Delhi with her mother and there met Walter Reinhardt the German adventurer whose gloomy countenance gained for him the nickname of Sombre or Samru.

(1) Begam Samru: by Brajendranath Banerji: with a foreword by Professor Jadunath Sarkar. (M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. Rupees Two and Annas Eight.)

Reinhardt (whom Sir George Forrest in his life of Clive persistently miscalls Remkardt) was the perpetrator of the massacre of the English at Patna in 1763; and the Company in vain endeavoured to persuade the different princes whom he served in turn, to hand him over to them. He made himself, in fact, so indispensable to Shah Alam, the puppet Emperor at Delhi, that he was presented with a jagir of the annual value of six lakhs of rupees, which extended from Aligarh to beyond Muzaffarnagar. The village of Sardhana, which is about twelve miles to the north west of Meerut, was selected by him as his residence: and here after his death on May 4, 1778, his widow lived and reigned for fifty-eight years. Her marriage in 1793 to Le Vassoult, the French commander of her forces, led to a mutiny of her officers. Le Vassoult shot himself and the Begam was tied to a gun-carriage for seven days. Her rescue was effected by George Thomas, the famous Irish sailor who became Raja of Hansi and lies buried in the old Residency cemetery at Berhampore. Thomas had entered her service in 1787, but had left her in 1792. According to the Peshwa's agent at Delhi (letter dated April 1794) "the Begam was forced to drive out George Thomas from her territory on account of his loose morals": but the real reason may be sought with greater probability in his jealousy of Le Vassoult. The Begam never forgot her indebtedness to Thomas and provided for his family after his death.

Five out of the six Sardhana battalions and fifteen guns, under the command of Saleur, fought in the battle of Assaye (September 23, 1803) on the side of Daulat Rao Sindhia: and according to Colonel James Skinner, were the only part of the defeated army which retired unbroken from the field. Thereafter the Begam made her submission to Lake: and surrendered her provinces with the exception of the pargana of Sardhana. Cornwallis however, in 1805 restored her to her jagir. She had been baptized into the Roman Catholic Church at Agra as early as May, 1781, under the name of Joanna: and she now commenced her long series of benefactions to Christian institutions.

In the tenth chapter of his book, Mr. Banerji has collected the many glimpses of the Begam's life at Sardhana which are provided by contemporary visitors and notably by the memoirs of George Thomas and the diary of Mrs. Ann Deane (1805). Not less interesting is the eleventh chapter in which the story is told of the unhappy career of her heir, David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre who was the grandson of Zafar Yab Khan, the son of Reinhardt by another wife. The plain statement of facts is as full of romance as the novel which Jules Verne based upon it and named "*Les Cinq Cent Millions de La Bégum*." In the end, the property passed into the hands of the daughter of the second Viscount St. Vincent who had married Dyce Sombre in 1840, and had taken Lord Forester as her second husband in 1862. On the death of Lady Forester in 1893 the palace was sold for Rs. 25,000 to the Catholic Mission at Agra, for use as a school and orphanage.

A word remains to be said regarding the pictures at Sardhana. Several of these were purchased in 1895 for Government House, Allahabad.

Among them is the portrait of the Begum which we are enabled by the courtesy of Mr. Banerji to reproduce from a block in his possession. It is the work of Melville, an artist who practised at Delhi. Mr. Banerji has not been able to gather any information with regard to this painter. But Sir William Foster, who has been good enough to look into the matter, points out that the portrait of Colonel James Skinner, which was engraved for the memoirs of that officer, was painted by W. Melville: and the portrait of Skinner which is at the India Office, can be identified also as his. It is possible (Sir William Foster thinks) that he was an amateur. The list of European Inhabitants in Bengal in the "India Register" for 1835 contains the name of William Melville of the firm of Fergusson and Co., and gives 1814 as the year of his arrival in India. The name appears until May, 1837, after which no list is published. On the other hand, the burial returns have been searched until the end of 1842 without result: and there is no mention in the Court Minutes of 1814 of permission given to proceed to India.

The remaining pictures at Allahabad represent (1) the meeting of the Begam and Lord Combermere after the fall of Bharatpur in 1826: (2) the Begam presenting a chalice to the clergy at Sardhana: (3) Dyce Sombre wearing his Papal decorations: painted at Rome in 1839: (4) General Allard: (5) Sir Charles Metcalfe: and (6) Colonel Stewart, who, when in command at Anupshahr in 1790, was captured by the Sikh chief Bhanga Singh while out riding, and ransomed by the Begam for Rs. 15,000.

Of the other Sardhana pictures, the Indian Institute at Oxford possesses the portraits of Fr. Julius Caesar, the first and last Bishop of Sardhana, Dr. Drever, the Begam's physician, and the two brothers-in-law of Dyce Sombre, Baron Paul Solaroli and Colonel John Rose Troup. Some of the pictures are said to have been painted by George Beechey, who succeeded Robert Home as court painter at Lucknow in 1828.

The Early Military Resources of the East Indian Company.

THE early military resources of the East India Company and the method of their employment of man power for the defence of their interests may conveniently be divided into two different periods. The first period commences with their arrival in the country and closes with the end of the purely trading epoch, or roughly speaking the 17th century and the first quarter of the 18th. The second period synchronises with their establishment as one of the powers of the country and their active participation in consequence in all the political developments consequent on the collapse of the Mughul rule. This period embraces the whole of the 18th century.

Of the two stages the earlier was the most critical, entailing the heaviest sacrifices and hardships and calling for the utmost patience. Every Factor attached to the different factories set up by the Company was of necessity a soldier and defender of his life and property. The usual complement of a large factory, such as the one at Surat, early in the 17th century consisted of about 28 officers, the most important of them being the President, the Treasurer, the Secretary, the Writers, the Surgeon and the Chaplain (1). This force was often augmented by the native peons and servants attached to the factory and occasionally by marines from the ships in times of emergency. It was with such a force that the factors not only resisted Sivaji when he plundered Surat, but maintained their ground till he had left the city (2). All told, the total number of fighting men would not exceed 150. The condition of a smaller factory was never as satisfactory. The Dacca, Malda, Hughly, Cossimbazar, Balasore, Masulipatam and Patna Factory diaries all agree in noting that the actual number of resident Englishmen did not as a rule rise beyond six or at most exceed ten. They had often Armenians and Portuguese in their service, but these could never be relied upon in times of difficulty. Over and above, a factory would have also its peons who were recruited from the low class people of the locality and whose activity and devotion to their employers was apt to be paralysed whenever the factory was involved in a conflict with the "country powers". In such a case the factory would endeavour to enlist people from a distance. The Dacca factory records mention the appointment of Baksaries, men from

(1) List of Factors at Surat—Suratt Letter, dated the 28th January, 1663.

(2) Letter of Sir George Oxinden President of Suratt to Fort Saint George, dated the 20th February, 1663. "Sivaji sent messengers to demand homage and yt [that] if we refused it, he would raise our house to ye [the] ground and not spare a life. . . . By this time we had more assistance from ye ships ... the approach of the Mughul army caused Sivaji to return from the town."

Buxar (3). In the same we find that the council of the Factory agreed "to keep one Ensign, one serjeant, one Corporal, one drummer and seventeen centinalls" (4). In a record of the Cossimbazar factory mention is made of seven principal European residents (5). Hedges notes in his diary that when he first reached Hughly to assume the charge of the Factory there (6) he was received by about 23 Europeans (7), 50 Rashpoots (8) and peons who carried 35 firelocks. The factory at Madras in 1673 contained not more than six or seven Englishmen (9). In 1676 the factory at Masulipatam employed eighteen Europeans all told. Streynsham Master has preserved a list of the Company's European servants in Bengal in 1675, numbering only thirty-one men (10). At a consultation over which Hedges presided at Balasore on the 26th March, 1683 (11) there were present only four other Europeans beside himself. Thus in most cases a factory could not come upon more than 100 fighting men. Equally defective were the weapons of offence and defence at their disposal. The Dacca Diary (12) supplies a list of such arms possessed by the factory at a later period of its existence. They are as follows—"3 Brass swivel guns: 2 mortars: 3 long swivel guns: 10 small, 3 of which are iron: 2 iron canons: 10 spare bayonet pieces: 4 carbines: 5 pistols: 5 swords, etc."

It was not however in the number of men nor in the quantity of military accoutrements that the strength of the early pioneers lay. It was in their character, tenacity of purpose and power of endurance. In 1662 the Surat records contain the following. "Our last year's imprisonment and restraynt from food, the attempt of our deaths with many other sordid abuses cryes vengeance on these infidels". Every change of situation, the transfer of a governor, or even the slightest offence given to the local power, would lead to the blockade of the factory and the carrying away of the inmates as prisoners. The inauguration of the Company's power in Bombay and the consequent apprehension of the reduction of the importance of Surat led to the factors being besieged (13). "The Governor then sent about 2,000 soldiers horse and foot whereof pte. [part] entered and possessed ym [them] selves of the house, ye rest guarded all ye. streets and lanes about it; forbidding wood watr [water] & all mann'r [manner] of provisions from coming in; abusing & beating or [our] minister who accidentally being abroad was coming in; afterwards he sent for all or [our] small armes &

(3) Dacca Diary, by J. T. Rankin, I.C.S., published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, November, 1920, page 154.

(4) Dacca Diary, page 139.

(5) Diary of Streynsham Master under date November 4th, 1676. Also Hedges Diary, page 40.

(6) Diary of Streynsham Master, Vol. I, page 242 footnote.

(7) Some of them might have been Dutchmen or Danes.

(8) Rajputs.

(9) Streynsham Master, Vol. I, page 285.

(10) Streynsham Master, Vol. II, page 16.

(11) Hedges' Diary, page 33.

(12) Dacca Diary, page 139.

(13) Forrest: State Papers, Surat, Vol. I, page 236.

or [our] trunmpett wch. [which] were sent him, & to all this force wee shewed not ye least return of violence, but suffered all patiently treating ye command of ye soldiery with much civility ”.

Again when the rival English Company was started and Sir Nicholas Waite was sent to Surat to advance their cause, Waite's accusation that the Factors of the old Company were involved in ‘incouraging’ pirates who preyed upon the Government's property on the sea led to the repetition of the late miseries with renewed severities. The Chief and Factors were confined for 12 weary months within the walls of their factory, but neither threats nor starvation would force them to yield to the urgent demands of the Imperial Court. Equally bad, if not worse, was the situation of the various factories in Bengal, if they failed to please a Foujdar, a Dewan and above all the Nawab.

Nothing however, surpasses the troubles and miseries that ensued in all the parts of India consequent on an open declaration of war between Aurangzeb and the English. Every where the factors were regarded as prisoners of war. The Dacca Diary records (14). “ Our house and goods were ordered to be seized and that the Nabob intended to send us to Lal Baugh (15). . . . Mr. Henry Hanby & Mr. James Ravenhill with 14 persons were conveyed to the same prison all in a most miserable and tottered condition, laden with fetters about 8 lbs. . . . & no sooner were they committed, but wee were ordered to participate of their affliction . . . and laden not only with fetters of the same weight, but chained every night, us two together.” What was true of Dacca was also true of other factories in Bengal and Bihar. Thus writes a prisoner from Patna: “ For the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, let me not perish in this hellish prison ”. The English were equally determined to defend their position. Resolutions were adopted and partly acted upon “ that Balasore be destroyed and Chittagong bombarded and that wee taking to ships destroy the Mogull trade on the sea. ’ Wilson in his *Early Annals* tells us that the Company “ commenced a vigorous campaign on both sides of the Indian Peninsula ”. The absolute stoppage of the Mughul trade on the sea and the proposal of Captain Heath (16) to assist the cause of the Emperor against the king of Arrakan made Aurangzeb anxious to conclude peace with the English.

The collapse of the Mughul Empire within a few years of the death of Aurangzeb provided a host of opportunities for seekers of fortune to take a part in the political and economic turmoil that ensued. The Company now found themselves in a new phase of development. They are certainly indebted to their rivals the French for indirectly pointing out to them the utility of mixing in the affairs of the “ country powers ”. Heretofore they had never aimed at political power. Trade and security of trade

(14) Dacca Diary, second instalment, page 122.

(15) The common prison of the Suba of Bengal at Dacca.

(16) Captain Heath was commissioned by King Charles II to look after the Company's affairs and if necessary openly to wage war against the Great Mughul.

absorbed their activities in the preceding period. But the general insecurity of the time that followed together with the example shown by the French revealed to them clearly the danger of standing aside.

The new widening prospects in India encouraged more Europeans to come to the East. It was thus that about this period the French and the English were able to strengthen their fighting elements by reinforcements from Europe. About 1752 an attempt was made by the Directors at home to recruit soldiers in the continent of Europe. A company of Swiss mercenaries commanded by Captain Alexander De Zeigle landed in Bombay. The experiment, however, failed. Many of the men died and others deserted to the French. Even with the arrival of fresh men from Europe, the few Europeans that the Company commanded appear insignificant in the face of the overwhelming forces that a local prince could bring out. It was again here that the French taught the English the second great lesson which led to the establishment of the Empire in India. This was nothing more or less than the recruitment of Indians and the training of them after the European model for employment against their own countrymen. The first experiment in this direction was made in 1746 (17) when the President and Council at Surat raised a force of 2,000 men consisting of Arabs, Abyssinians, Indian Musalmans and Hindus. But it was not till the extension of the Mutiny Act to India that Bombay of all other places, first came to possess a regular army (18).

English brains on the one side and Indian arms on the other were the principal factors, in this second momentous period, which led the Company from victory to victory and eventually to Empire. Nothing in the world's history surpasses the devotion and singleness of purpose with which the Indian sepoys served their European masters. The Madras, Bombay and Bengal Records supply copious evidence of the self-sacrifice of Indian troops for their English comrades. A specific instance may be quoted. The garrison, who surrendered Bednore to Tippo Sultan in 1785, were all made prisoners of war. The English prisoners were almost driven to despair because of the harsh treatment they received at the hands of their victor. The resignation and contentedness of the Indian sepoys surpass all precedent.

Our sepoys were equally oppressed in every prison, all of them having been employed as coolies carrying mud, stones and chunam the whole time of their confinement, with no other allowance than one seer of rauggy and one pice each (the English being allowed 2 pice per head); and having been daily punished with stripes and threatened to be hanged for refusing to enter into the Nabob's service. This hard usage caused numbers of them to die. In

(17) Factory Records, Surat: Vol. I, *Introd.* p. xliii.

(18) Bombay Quarterly Review, Vol. V, quoted in Factory Records, Surat, Vol. I, *Introd.* p. xliv.

some of the prisons where the Europeans were confined together with the sepoy the latter saved money out of their daily allowance and purchased meat for the former at the same time telling them they well knew the customs of Europeans and that they could not do without it: also when on their march, they would not suffer the Europeans to carry their knapsacks, but took them and carried them themselves, telling the Europeans that they (the sepoy) were better able to bear the heat of the sun than they were, the climate being natural to them.

The same story may be told of other campaigns. The one great force that always placed the English ahead of their enemies was their clear comprehension of every phase of the situation in which they might find themselves. To this may be added their coolness, skill in diplomacy and determination to attain their object. But the active instruments they employed to lay the foundation of their Empire were the Indians themselves. At Plassey (19) and Wandewash (20), at the siege and capture of Seringapatam (21), and during the first and second Maratha Wars the proportion of English to Indians in their army was always about one to three. The submission of the Sepoy to discipline was as remarkable as their devotion to duty. When the Company's interests necessitated service abroad, the sepoy gladly joined the expeditionary forces. The *Calcutta Gazette* in 1800 quotes the following news received from London (22). "The Turks were infinitely surprised at the appearance of the sepoy in Egypt, more particularly when they saw them lay aside their shoes and enter their mosques in performance of the same religion. When they found an army descending the Nile they thought their Prophet was working a miracle for them."

P. C. MUKHERJI.

(19) *Fifteen Decisive Battles*—Malletson, p. 56.

(20) Elphinstone: *Rise of the British Power in the East*, p. 507.

(21) Wilks: *History of Mysore*: Vol. III, p. 398.

(22) The reference is to the Company's co-operation with the Government in England for the suppression of Napoleon's power in Egypt.



BENTRAM PUNDIT
FROM THE PICTURE BY ZOFFANY.

Beniram Pundit.

A LOST ZOFFANY.

VISITORS to Mr. Francis Edwards' friendly emporium at no. 83 High Street, Marylebone, will remember the oil painting of Beniram Pundit by Zoffany which used to hang on the landing that led to the treasure-house of Indian books on the second floor. It was described in the 1919 catalogue of that eminent bibliopole as "A Fine Portrait in Oils of Beneeram Pundit, the Vakeel or Minister of the Rajah of Berar: 33½ by 24 inches: by Zoffany: framed: £250."

Warren Hastings who was the original owner of the picture, commissioned Zoffany to paint it as a record of his gratitude and friendship for a man who rendered him substantial service during the difficulties and dangers of his memorable visit to Benares in 1780 (1). Nor did he forget to discharge his obligation in a more material form. We find him writing to Sir Charles D'Oyly: "When I was at Benares in 1780, I bestowed a piece of land in Gazeepoor on Benaram Pundit. If the family have been deprived of this property I entreat you to obtain the restitution of it" (2). In one of his letters to his wife he speaks of the "uncommon attachment shown to me by Benaram Pundit and his brother: you will like them for it" The brother was Bissummer, the Vakil of Madhoji Hari, the Mahratta Subadar of Cuttack.

Hastings placed the picture in the dining-room at Daylesford and valued it highly. With the house and other relics it passed to Miss Winter the grandniece of Mrs. Hastings: and after her death came into the possession of Mr. Edwards. It has now been sold—and lost!

A purchaser was recently found for the portrait in a descendant of Beniram, and it was shipped out to him in India. Mysteriously, however, it disappeared after its arrival, in the course of the train journey to a remote destination up-country. Interest will therefore attach to the photograph which we are enabled, by the kindness of Mr. Edwards, to reproduce. Let us hope that, like the long-missing picture of "The Embassy of Hyderbeck", which vanished from Lucknow during the troublous days of 1857 and was discovered by Mr. Edwards in 1923 in a cottage in the Isle of Wight (3), the portrait of this Indian friend of Hastings will some day emerge from an unexpected hiding-place.

J. J. C.

(1) An account of Benaram Pundit's services to Warren Hastings will be found in the second volume of Selections from the Governor-General's State Papers (pp. 165, 167).

(2) It appears from the Ghazipur District Gazetteer that the Bahriabad pargana, which was not included in the permanent settlement, remained in the possession of Beniram's family until 1827. Beniram was succeeded by his brother Bissummer, who died in 1810. Upon the death of Bissummer's widow in 1827, the jagir was resumed and settled subsequently with the former Zamindars.

(3) Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee has presented the picture to the Victoria Memorial Hall.

The Hastings-Francis Duel.

A MAHRATTA ACCOUNT.

RAO BAHADUR D. B. PARASNIS of Satara, whose collection of Mahratta State Papers is unrivalled, has been good enough to translate for us the account rendered to Nana Farnavis by Lala Sewakram, the Peshwa's vakil at Calcutta, of the duel between Hastings and Francis, of which we gave the Governor-General's own record in our last issue (pp. 50-51).

* * * * *

"Beniram Pant, Nagpur Bhonsle's [the Raja of Berar's] vakil and Rajaram Pant, Dadasaheb's [Raghunath Rao's] vakil, have succeeded in making the Bara Saheb [Governor General] your enemy by giving hopes of securing the Deccan in various ways... Mr. Francis, Counsellor, warned the Bara Saheb two or four times that it was not well to fight with the Peshwa without the express permission of His Majesty the King, this would only bring on miseries and devastate our own country. The Bara Saheb replied that the presence of our army in the Deccan would make it impossible for the Sardars to invade the English territory. This difference of opinion has caused an estrangement between Bara Saheb and Mr. Francis: and Mr. Francis, being disgusted, did not attend the meetings of the Council for two and a half months and went beyond Maksudabad [Moorshedabad] for change of climate under the plea of ill health... Mr. Francis returned to Calcutta from Maksudabad on the 15th of Saban. The Bara Saheb remonstrated with him, saying: "You have not attended the Council for the last two and a half months. The Deccan army has occupied Cuttack right down to Balasore harbour, and all communications in the district are stopped". Mr. Francis replied: "What is the use of my attending the Council when you do not care to obey the orders of His Majesty the King of England, who commanded you twice or thrice to hand over the charge of your office to me, and not to stir up trouble with the Deccan Sardars?" The Bara Saheb thereupon indignantly challenged Mr. Francis to a duel and said that the winner should take the charge of the Bara Saheb's post. The duel was consequently fought on the 16th of Savan secretly in a garden where the two parties drove in their carriages with Colonel Pearse as the second of the Bara Saheb and Colonel Watson as the second of Mr. Francis. The first shot of the pistol was fired by Mr. Francis: it missed the Bara Saheb, but pierced through his hat. The second shot was fired by the Bara Saheb which hit Mr. Francis, wounding him under the arm, but did not prove to be fatal. There has been no Council meeting until now."

* * * * *

The duel was fought on August 17, 1780 and the vakeel's letter was written on October 10.

Lord Curzon's Bequest to Calcutta.

A REYNOLDS' PORTRAIT OF STRINGER LAWRENCE.

"**I** BEQUEATH to the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial at Calcutta, which I founded, and the pictures and other objects in which have been mainly collected by myself, the portrait of Major-General Stringer Lawrence by Sir Joshua Reynolds, now in the collection at Hackwood." The presence of this clause in Lord Curzon's will affords a further proof, if any were needed, of his undiminished interest in the "Twentieth Century Taj" which rears its stately head on the spot once made hideous by the Presidency Jail.

Lord Curzon's bequest will not form the only specimen of Sir Joshua's work in Calcutta. The collection at the Victoria Memorial already contains a portrait by him of John Zephaniah Holwell: and the picture of Sir William Jones as a boy, which hangs in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is, or should be, well known. But there can be no doubt of the value of the latest addition to the art treasures of Calcutta.

The portrait is one of three which Sir Joshua Reynolds is known to have painted of Stringer Lawrence. One may be seen in the Council-room at the India Office. It is thus described in Sir William Foster's catalogue:

A half length portrait, showing a broad full face, with well arched eyebrows, short blunt nose, sensitive mouth, and double chin. A plain red coat shows underneath it a breastplate of burnished steel. Upon the head is a short white wig. The face has a peculiar whitish tinge, due to the fading of the paint.

This portrait, which was painted for the East India Company in January, 1761, has been engraved by R. Purcell and also by R. Houston. At the India House it was placed in a committee room on the south side of the Directors' Court Room.

A second portrait was painted for Sir Robert Palk, the ancestor of Lord Haldon, who was Governor of Fort Saint George from 1763 to 1767, at the time when Lawrence was commander-in-chief at that Presidency. It was offered for sale at Christie's in May, 1893, when, not being recognized as the work of Reynolds, it was knocked down to a dealer for ten guineas. The present owner is Mr. Rodman Wanamaker of Philadelphia. Copies of the stipple engraving by E. A. Ezechiel are in the India Office and also at the Victoria Memorial Hall. The portrait is a full length one: and in the background is represented the surrender of the French at Srirangam in 1752.

The third portrait was the property of Mrs. Wilmot Henry Palk, the widow of a grandson of Sir Lawrence Palk, the second baronet: and was bought by Lord Curzon at a sale held in March 1913 after her death, the price paid being £378. It is described by Sir William Foster as a profile portrait looking to the spectator's right and representing Lawrence in a red

coat. This is the picture which has been bequeathed to the Victoria Memorial Hall: and it differs obviously in composition from the other two.

The connection between the Palk family and Stringer Lawrence was very close. Joseph Farington visited Torquay in September, 1809, and makes the following entry in his diary on the 27th of that month:

Sir Lawrence Palk [the second baronet] was spoken of. His Grandfather was a Butcher at Ashburton, and His Father, the late Sir Robt. Palk, having been brought up for the Church, obtained Deacon's orders and went to India. He changed his object and in time became Governor of Madrass. Near his House He erected a building to the memory of General Lawrence who having acquired a fortune in the East Indies, left it to Sir Robert. It is calculated that Sir Lawrence has £15,000 a year: and a Mr. Palk, a relation of His, whose Grandfather was a Butcher, has £8,000 a year.

Robert Palk, the first baronet, died at Haldon House, Torquay, in 1789 at the age of eighty-one. The baronetcy conferred upon him in 1782 is now merged in the Haldon peerage, which was created in 1880. He married in 1761 Anna Vansittart, the sister of Henry Vansittart, who was Governor of Fort William from 1760 to 1764, and was lost in the *Aurora* frigate in 1770, together with Luke Scafton and Colonel Francis Forde the victor of Condore and Biderra. The inscription on the tombstone in the South Park Street burial-ground in memory of Lucia Palk has been made famous by Kipling's reference to it in his "City of Dreadful Night." Her husband, another Robert Palk, died in Calcutta in 1784. A third Palk, Thomas, who is probably the individual to whom Farington alludes at the end of his note, was in the Madras Civil Service from 1769 to 1793.

Sir Lawrence Palk, the second baronet, died in 1813. Torquay owes its origin as a health-resort to him. Farington has made a note of this also in his diary. It is dated September 27, 1809:

The land on which Torquay stands, and much of the neighbourhood, belongs to Sir Lawrence Palk, who found a few cottages at Torquay. Having resolved to take advantage of the situation He has been at great expence, has built rows of neat Houses, a fine pier on the South side to form a harbour, and made walks upon the Hills which surround the place. He has a House for his own use fronting the Harbour.

Stringer Lawrence died in London at his residence in Bruton Street on January 10, 1775, within a few weeks of the death of Clive. With the exception of an annuity of £800 to a married nephew of the name of Twine, and certain bequests to servants, he left the whole of his property to Robert Palk. Lawrence Palk was his godson, and the Christian name has been borne by each succeeding baronet. His tomb in the little village church of Dunchideock, near Exeter, was erected by the Palk family. Under a medallion portrait is the following inscription by Hannah More:

Major General Stringer Lawrence, who commanded in India from 1747 to 1767, died January 10th, 1775, aged 78 years. The desperate state of affairs in India, becoming prosperous by a series of victories, endeared him to his country. History has recorded his fame, the regrets of the worthy bear testimony to his virtues.

Cui Pudor et Justitiae soror
Incorrupta Fides nudaque Veritas.
Quando ullum invenient parem?

Born to command, to conquer and to spare—
As mercy mild yet terrible as war;
Here Lawrence rests, the trump of honest fame
From Thames to Ganges has proclaimed his name.
In vain this frail memorial friendship rears,
His dearest monument an army's tears;
His deeds on fairer columns stand engraved
In provinces preserved and cites saved.

A tall column was also erected by the Palks on Haldon Hill, overlooking Torquay: and according to John Hawkesworth's *East India Chronologist* there was another monument "on Penkil, a lofty eminence" in the shape of "a triangular building with round towers at the corners, called Lawrence Castle, in honour of General Lawrence, whose statue on a round black marble pedestal, with a Persian inscription sent by the Nabob Mahomed Ali, stands on the ground floor". A portrait of Lawrence and the famous Nawab of the Carnatic, which is attributed to George Chinnery, is in the collection at Government House, Madras. The monument to Lawrence, which was placed in Westminster Abbey by the East India Company some years after his death, is thus inscribed: "For discipline established, Fortresses protected, Settlements extended, French and Indian armies defeated, and Peace restored in the Carnatic." A statue by Peter Scheemakers, which represents him bareheaded and in the conventional dress of an ancient Roman, was also placed in the General Court-room at the India House, and now stands in a corridor on the first floor of the India Office (2).

The "Dictionary of National Biography" has it that other monuments exist in Madras and Calcutta. This is incorrect. Besides the three portraits by Reynolds, there is an admirable likeness by Gainsborough in the National Portrait Gallery, which was presented by Sir Henry Yule in 1888.

[Reproduced, by permission, from the "Pioneer" of October 11, 1925.]

(2) Companion statues of Clive and of Admiral Sir George Pocock (the lieutenant of Watson) in the same costume were voted at the same time (Minutes of a General Court, September 24, 1760). The cost of the three was £605-10-0. An illustration of the Lawrence statue is given in the "Historical Record of the First Madras European Regiment", published in 1843. (Foster).

The South Park Street Cemetery.

SOME NOTABLE TOMBS.

THE north-west corner of the South Park Street Cemetery is full of notable tombs. We publish a plan on the opposite page. The figures prefixed to the following descriptive notes correspond to those on the plan.

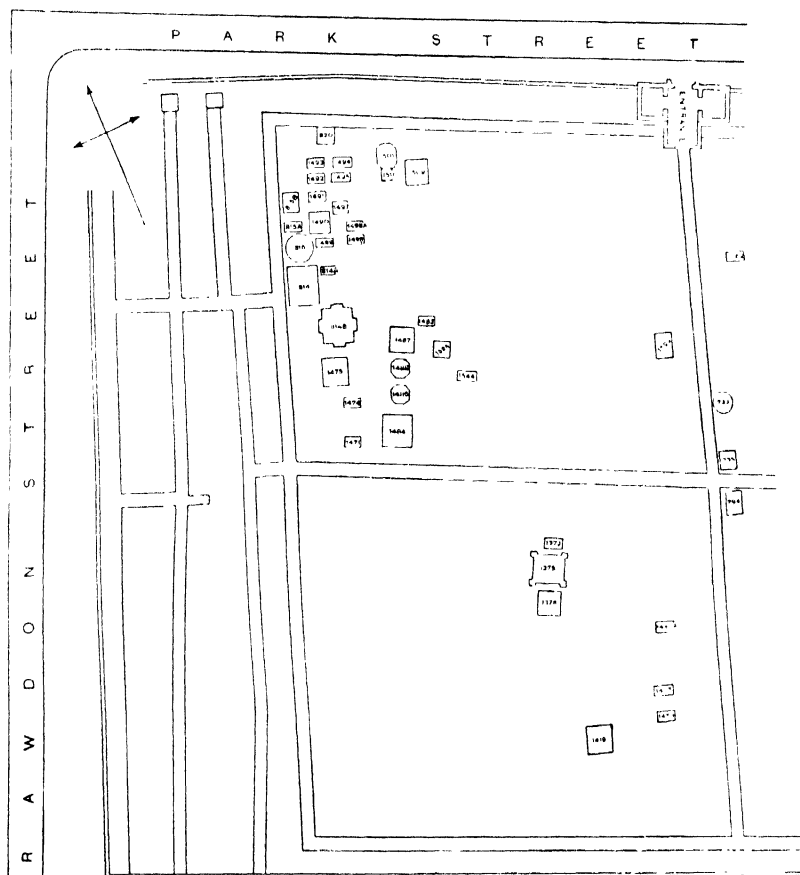
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735. *Capt. William Mackay*—died 1804: great uncle of Dr. Charles Mackay the author of "Cheer, Boys, Cheer". He was second mate of the *Juno* when she was wrecked off the coast of Pegu in 1795: and his narrative, which was used by Byron in describing the shipwreck in *Don Juan* was reprinted in Charles Mackay's "Thousand and one Gems of English Prose." Marie Corelli was the adopted daughter of Dr. Mackay.

794. *The Hon'ble Rose Whitworth Aylmer*—died of cholera on March 2, 1800 at the age of 20. Daughter of the fourth Lord Aylmer and niece of Sir Henry Russell, puisne judge of the Supreme Court from 1797 to 1806 and Chief Justice from 1806 to 1813. Lady Aylmer and Lady Russell were sisters of Earl Whitworth the British Ambassador at Paris, who was publicly insulted by Napoleon after the peace of Amiens. The words of Walter Savage Landor's famous elegy were placed on the tomb in 1909 at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society.

814. *Edward Wheler*—died at Sooksagur from the breaking of a blood-vessel on October 16, 1784, aged 51. Director of the Company from 1765 to 1777: Chairman in 1773 and 1774. Took his seat as Member of the Supreme Council on December 11, 1777. The lengthy inscription on his tomb records that he was the third son of Sir William Wheler, Bart. of Leamington Hastings in the county of Warwick.

814A. Bears no inscription. The proximity of this grave to that of Wheler suggests that it may be the tomb (which cannot be discovered) of his first wife, Harriet Chicheley Plowden, whom he married in 1772, and who died on July 27, 1778. They arrived in Calcutta in November 1777 on



SOUTH PARK STREET BURIAL GROUND:
SOME NOTABLE TOMBS IN THE NORTH WEST CORNER.

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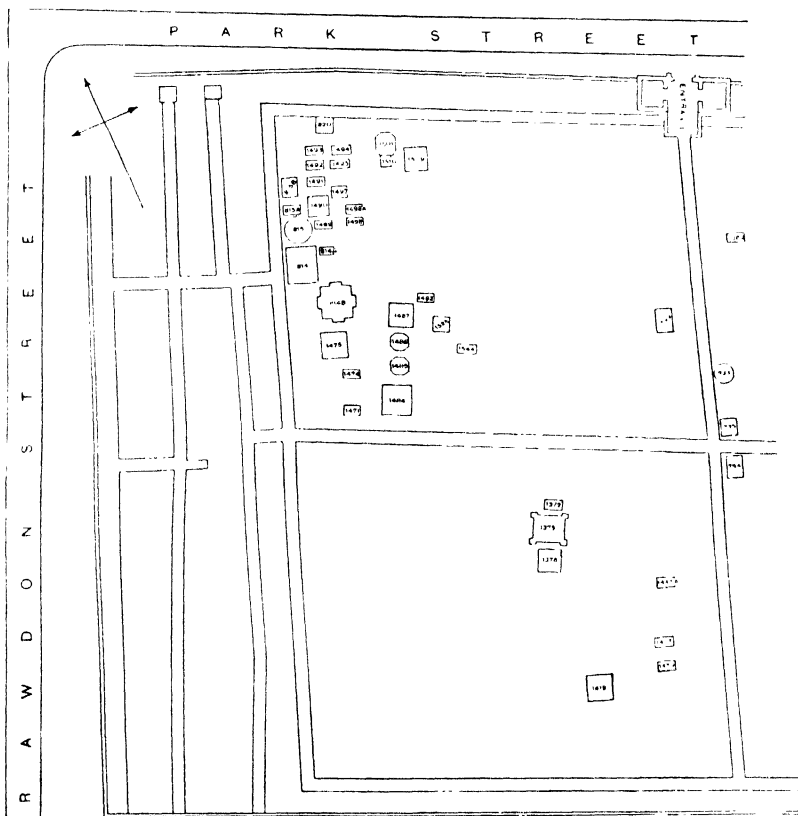
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board the *Duke of Portland* Indiaman. On December 10, 1780, Wheler married Charlotte Durnford, his wife's first cousin, who came out with them.

814B. *Mrs. Elizabeth Barwell*—died on November 9, 1778, at the age of about 23. Wife of Richard Barwell whom she married on September 13, 1776. Their son, Edward John, was baptized on February 9, 1779. "The beautiful Miss Sanderson" was a favourite toast in Calcutta. The tomb was repaired in 1907 and an inscription placed upon it at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society (1).

815. *The Chambers Family*.—Here are buried Henrietta (died January 30, 1779, aged 4 months) Jane Marriott (died November 28, 1781, aged about 18 months) and Edward Collins (died November 9, 1781, aged 6 months), the infant children of Sir Robert Chambers: and also his mother Ann Chambers (who died on February 7, 1782, aged 62) and his brother William (died August 22, 1793). The tablet has disappeared which Chambers erected in memory of his six year old son Thomas Fitzmaurice, who perished in the wreck of the *Grosvenor* off the coast of Africa in August, 1782.

815A. *Colonel the Hon'ble George Monson*—died at Hooghly on September 25, 1776 at the age of 46. Took his seat as Member of the Supreme Council on October 20, 1774, with Clavering, Barwell, and Francis. The inscription records that he was educated at Westminster, entered His Majesty's Foot Guards in 1750, was member of Parliament for Lincoln from 1754 to 1768, was present in 1760 at the siege of Pondichéry (where he was severely wounded) served under General Draper at Manila in 1762 and was appointed aide-de-camp to the King in 1768.

815B. *Lady Anne Monson*—died on February 17, 1776 aged about 50. The funeral was an imposing one. Mr. John Wilton, the brother of Lady Chambers, attended as chief mourner at Colonel Monson's request. The pall-bearers were Hastings, Impey, Chambers, Francis, Farrer the barrister and "Mr. Thompson, who is of the Colonel's family". At the cemetery gate six ladies took the pall and carried the coffin to the grave. She was the eldest daughter of the first Earl of Darlington and Lady Grace Fitzroy, daughter of the first Earl of Cleveland: and was twice married, firstly to the Hon. Charles Hope Weir and secondly to Colonel the Hon. George Monson. Inscriptions were placed on both these tombs in 1908 at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society.

820. *Lucia Palk*—died on June 22, 1772, aged 25. Daughter of the Rev. Sir James Stonhouse, Bart. and sister of Sarah who married George Vansittart on October 24, 1776. Wife of Robert Palk, who as Judge of

(1) An advertisement appeared at intervals in the Calcutta newspapers during the earlier months of the year 1907, above the signature of Mr. B. B. Shah, Secretary of the Christian Burial Board announcing that the Board "propose to demolish the pyramidal grave which bears no name and which is in a dangerous condition." It was speedily ascertained that the tomb thus threatened was the grave of Mrs. Barwell and its preservation and restoration became the earliest care of the newly formed Calcutta Historical Society.

the Court of Cutchery committed Nuncomar for forgery, and whom she married on June 12, 1770. A visit to this tomb by Rudyard Kipling inspired the verses which will be found in the last chapter of the *City of Dreadful Night*.

1069. *Tyso Saul Hancock*—died on November 6, 1775. Married Philadelphia Austen, the aunt of Jane Austen, at Cuddalore in February 1753. Came to Calcutta in 1759. Surgeon and friend of Warren Hastings.

1372. *Hannah Ellerton*—died on January 21, 1858, aged 86 years. This is the lady who assured the Rev. James Long that she had a vivid recollection of the duel between Hastings and Francis in 1780, and could remember when there were only two houses "on the road to Chowringhy." There is a tablet to her memory in the old Mission Church. Mother-in-law of Dr. Daniel Corrie, first Archdeacon of Calcutta from 1823 to 1835) and later (from 1835 until his death on February 5, 1837) first Bishop of Madras.

1375. *Sir William Jones*—died April 27, 1794, at the age of 48. Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court from 1783 until his death. Founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. The inscription on the tomb was written by himself: "Here was deposited the mortal part of a man who feared God but not Death, who thought none below him but the base and the unjust, none above him but the wise and virtuous".

1376. *Catherine Sykes*—died on December 28, 1768, aged 25. Married on February 7, 1766, to "Francis Sykes, Esq. of Council," her maiden name being Ridley. The tomb is the second oldest in the cemetery. Sykes was created a baronet in 1781. It was to his charge when proceeding to Europe in 1761 that Warren Hastings committed his little son George.

1419. *John Hyde*—died in July 8, 1796, at the age of 59. Took his seat as one of the first Judges of the Supreme Court on October 22, 1774. There is a lengthy inscription on his tomb (which is in the form of a pyramid), written by Thomas Scott, "one of the Masters of Chancery of Bengal."

1445A. *George Bogle*—died on April 3, 1781. Arrived in Calcutta as a writer in 1770. Sent by Warren Hastings on a mission to the Deo Rajah of Bhutan and the Teshoo Lama of Tibet in 1774. Collector of Rungpore from 1779 to December 1780. The inscription records that the monument was erected by "his most affectionate friends Claud Alexander and David Anderson."

1457. *Major Thomas Pearson*—died on August 5, 1781, aged 42. Was present at the signing of the Treaty of Allahabad on August 16, 1765 (see key plan of Benjamin West's picture reproduced in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, p. 23). Served also in the Rohilla campaign. Married Sarah Irwin on December 2, 1767.

1459. *Sarah Pearson*—died on September 9, 1768, aged 19. Wife of Major Thomas Pearson. Her infant daughter, Sarah, was baptized on October 26, 1768. This is the oldest monument in the Cemetery.

1471. *Mrs. Maria Keighley*—died on November 11, 1787, at the age of 32. Mary Higgins married John English Keighley, senior merchant, on May 17, 1777. The inscription on the tomb is in Latin: "Iuxta cineres Filii Iacobi/Maria Keighly/Uxor Deliciae Iacobi English Keighly/Armigeri; in expectatione Diei Supremae/Hic jacet. Qualis erat/Ista dies indicabit. Obiit 11 Nov./Anno Dom. 1787, Aetatis suae 32." The cautious nature of the reference to her merits will be observed. And, as a matter of fact, her husband did not long lament her death, for he married Sarah Christina Peach on February 21, 1788. There are several references to the Keighleys in William Hickey's *Memoirs* (Vol. I, p. 41; Vol. III, pp. 220, 278, 307-10, 330-333). He describes Mrs. Keighley as "one of the prettiest as well as the cleverest women in India."

1474. *The Hon'ble Lockhart Gordon*—son of the Earl of Aboyne: married in 1770 Catherine Wallop daughter of Viscount Lymington, by whom he had seven children. Judge Advocate-General and Junior Counsel to the Company. Admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on March 4, 1785. Died on March 24, 1788, aged 56. The inscription on his tomb records that "his mind was great, his knowledge and talents eminent, his form beautiful."

1475. *George Hurst*—died on February 24, 1780, aged 38. He was a member of the Board of Trade. In 1774 he was appointed Chief of the Provincial Council of Revenue at Dinajpore.

1483. *William Bonfield*—a well-known Calcutta auctioneer after whom Bonfield's Lane is named; died on January 12, 1788. One of the jurors who tried the indictment against James Augustus Hicky for a libel on Hastings contained in the *Bengal Gazette* (No. IX, March 24, 1781). A verdict of not guilty was returned on June 27, 1781.

1484. *Augustus Cleveland*—the famous Collector of Bhagalpur. He died, as the inscription upon the tomb records, on Jan. 12, 1784, at the age of 29, on board the *Atlas* Indiaman at the Sandheads, when proceeding to the Cape for the recovery of his health. "His remains preserved in spirits, were brought up to Town in the Pilot Sloop which attended the *Atlas*, and interred herein, the 30th of the same month." The inscription which was affixed by order of Hastings and is believed to be composed by him, continues:—

The public and private Virtues of this excellent Young Man were Singularly eminent. In His Public Capacity, He accomplished by a System of Conciliation what could never be effected by Military Coercion. He civilized a Savage Race of Mountaineers, who for ages had existed in a state of Barbarism, and eluded every Exertion that had been practised against them To suppress their Depredations and reduce them to obedience. To his wise and beneficent Conduct The English East India Company were indebted for the Subjecting to their Government of the numerous Inhabitants of that wild and extensive Country—The Jungleterry.

In His Private Station, By the amiableness of his Deportment, the Gentleness of his manners, And the goodness and generosity of his heart, He was Universally admired, beloved & respected by all who had the happiness of knowing him.

The name is spelt "Cleveland" in the inscription. Another monument was erected outside the mess-house of the Hill Rangers at Bhagalpur: and a copy of the inscription will be found in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. VIII, p. 145.

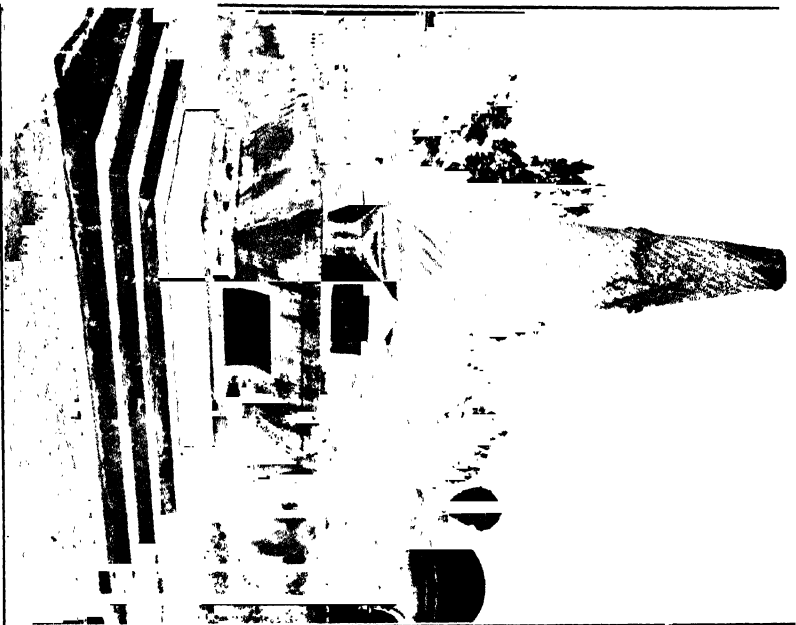
1485. *Maria Tryphena Cockerell*.—One of the daughters of Sir Charles William Blunt, Bart. who died at Pulta on September 29, 1802. She was married on February 4, 1789 to Charles Cockerell, Senior Merchant, and died the same year on October 5, at the age of 22. Cockerell was created a baronet in 1809 and was succeeded by his son by his second wife who took his mother's name of Rushout.

1486. *Anna Maria and Charlotte Maria Bruce*.—The former, who died on September 19, 1798 at the age of 23, was another daughter of Sir Charles Blunt. She was married on May 20, 1795, "from Lady Shore's garden house" to the Hon. Charles Andrew Bruce (who died in 1810) the brother of the seventh Lord Elgin and subsequently Governor of Prince of Wales Island (Penang). Charlotte Maria Bruce died on January 28, 1811 at the age of 5. She was the daughter of Bruce's second wife, Charlotte Sophia Louisa Dashwood, whom he married in 1802.

1487. *Sir Alexander Seton*.—Barnet, died on February 4, 1811, aged 38. He married on May 20, 1785, Lydia, another of the daughters of Sir Charles Blunt.

1489. *Lieut. General Sir John Clavering, K.B.*.—died on August 30, 1777, in his 55th year. "Knight of the Most Hon'ble Order of the Bath, Lieut.-General in his Britannic Majesty's Service, and Colonel of the 52nd Regiment of Foot; Second in the Supreme Council at Fort William in Bengal, and Commander-in-Chief of all the Company's Forces in India." Clavering and Barwell fought a duel in April, 1775. Neither combatant was hurt (2). The innocent cause of the meeting was the General's daughter Maria, for whom Barwell was believed to entertain a tender affection. The young lady, who survived until 1821, married Lord Napier of Merchiston, and Barwell consoled himself with "the beautiful Miss Sanderson" (No. 814B). Writing to his sister Mary on September 13, 1777, Barwell says: "General Clavering died on a Saturday, a day become remarkable in the annals of Bengal, and to which the superstition of the people has given a most malignant influence to his cause and a happy one to Hastings. Maharaja Nuncomar was committed to prison on a Saturday: he was condemned to death on a Saturday, and he was hanged on a Saturday. Colonel Monson died on a Saturday, and General Clavering on a Saturday: and what is more re-

(2) An account of the duel was published in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1909 (Vol. III, pp. 277-280).



ROSE AYMER'S TOMB



THE TOMB OF MRS. BARWELL,
ELIZABETH SANDERSON.

markable, they all three died in the month of Bhadro (between the 15 of our August and the 15 September)." Monson, died, as a matter of fact, on September 25, 1776 (see 815A) : but the coincidence is sufficiently close.

1490. *Charles Stafford Playdell*—"Member of the Board of Trade, Master in Chancery and Superintendent of Police in Calcutta, Who departed this Life on the 29th May 1779, Sincerely and Universally regretted by Europeans and Natives." Playdell came out to Bengal in 1744 and was second at Jugdea in 1756, when he took refuge at Fulta. He left for Europe in January 1768 but had returned by September 1771. His first wife Elizabeth Holwell, whom he married on February 25, 1759, was a daughter of John Zephaniah Holwell. He succeeded Samuel Middleton as Provincial Grand Master of Bengal Freemasons in 1775.

1491. *Mrs. Alice Wedderburn*—died in 1805 aged 55. Alice Tetley was married on March 4, 1773, to Henry Wedderburn, matter attendant, who died on November 17, 1777, aged 46. The inscription on Wedderburn's tomb in the South Park Street Cemetery which has disappeared, recorded (Bengal Obituary, p. 70) that he "served the Hon. E. I. Coy. in the troubles with Seraj-ud-dowlah and Cossim Ally Cawn".

1492. *John Sampson*—died on October 1, 1783 aged 47. Began his career as chief mate of the *Greenwich* and then commanded the *Minerva* snow. Was appointed deputy Master Attendant in 1774 and Master Attendant in 1777.

1493. *Dr. Rowland Jackson*—died on March 29, 1784, aged 63. A doctor of ability and M.R.C.P., who lost his estate in Ireland owing to a lawsuit and came out to India. Is mentioned in Mrs. Fay's Letters (December, 19, 1780) as "physician to the Company and in very high practice besides." His wife who was "a native of Jamaica" and "turned of sixty-five" opened a ball in March 1781 "with a very good minuet", and "afterwards footed it for about two hours, as gaily as the youngest".

1494. *Favell Wordsworth*—Writer on the Madras establishment. 1777: factor 1782. Brother of John Wordsworth, Paymaster of the Patna Militia, and Judge and Magistrate of Rungpore from 1785 to 1800. Died at Calcutta on December 17, 1783, aged 23.

1495. "To the Memory of Mrs. Charlotte Hickey, Wife of William Hickey, Esquire, who died the 25th December 1783, aged 21 years 10 months and 10 days, leaving a truly disconsolate Husband bitterly and incessantly to deplore her loss". William Hickey is the author of the Memoirs. He and Charlotte Barry whom he brought out to Bengal, were never married.

1497. *Warren Hastings Larkins*—died on August 20, 1788, aged four years and 20 days. The son of William Larkins of whom a portrait was given in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, p. 226. "An uncommon promising Genius and an engaging and amiable disposition made him the delight of his Father and a Favourite of the Settlement." Larkins wrote to Hastings that "he was very fond of calling himself Hastings Behawdar"

and "often points up to your picture saying Jeetee Ro." This is the famous portrait by Devis which is now at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi (3).

1498. *The Rev. Thomas Yate*—died on April 15, 1782. Appointed junior chaplain at the Presidency 1768: senior chaplain 1769: garrison chaplain at Fort William, 1771. He came out originally on board the *Talbot* as tutor to the son of Sir Charles Hudson, the commander. The Directors ordered him to be deported: and he sailed for England in 1775. In 1777 he was regularly appointed to the establishment and took his passage on a French ship. War broke out during the voyage: and he was put into prison at Port Louis. After suffering many hardships he was placed on board a vessel for transportation to France, but contrived to be left behind at the Cape, whence he made his way to Calcutta.

1498A. *Stephen Caesar Lemaistre*—one of the three puisne Judges appointed to the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal in 1774. Died on November 4, 1777, aged 39. An inscription was placed upon the grave in 1909 at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society.

1501. *Charlotte Loftie and Mary Garstin*—Charlotte Loftie who died on November 1, 1789, at the age of 18, was the daughter of the Rev. John Loftie, Rector of Saint Dunstan's Canterbury, and one of the chaplains on the Bengal Establishment. Her sister Mary who died on July 28, 1811, at the age of 42 was the wife of Major-General John Garstin, Surveyor General and architect of the Calcutta Town Hall and the *Golah* or granary, at Bankipore.

Garstin died on February 16 1820, at the age of 64 and is buried in the same vault. An inscription in English and Urdu on either side of the southern front of the Town Hall records that "during the administration of Lord Wellesley this edifice was designed, and completed under the government of Lord Minto in the year of Christ 1813," the architect being "John Garstin, Colonel of Engineers." Garstin's Place in Calcutta is named after him. His wife, says the epitaph, "only grieved her husband when she died."

1509. *Col. Thomas Deane Pearse*—died on June 15, 1789, aged 47. Acted as second to Hastings in his duel with Francis in 1780. The inscription records that "He was an officer in the Royal Artillery, and in 1757 was present at the sieges of Guadaloupe, the Havannah, and Bellisle. In 1768 he came to India with the Rank of Major in the Artillery, and in 1769 succeeded to the Command of that Corps, which he retained till his Death. He marched a Detachment to join the Army under Sir Eyre Coote in the Carnatic, and served there during the War and returned to Bengal in 1785, and for the last three years of his life he was Senior Officer of the Bengal Army." He was the first commandant of the Bengal Artillery. Within the church enclosure at Dum Dum is a pillar erected to his memory by the officers of the corps: and a portrait (of which there is a photograph

(3) The picture is reproduced opposite page 121, ante.

at the Victoria Memorial Hall) hangs in the R. A. Mess at Woolwich. Selections from his letters have been published in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vols. II, III, IV, V, VI, and VII).

1570. *Lt. Col. John Edmondson*—died on January 31, 1789, aged 44. A long inscription in excellent Latin on the tomb affirms that "the predatory bands of the Rohillas, the lawless armies of Hyder, and the annals of India testify to his victories." "Indomitum Mors sola Negat." "To death alone his unconquerable spirit yields." The inscription concludes: "O Quicunque Audes Moliri grandia, disce Edmondsoni instar Vivere, disce Mori."

1525. *Thomas Powney*—of the Madras Civil Service, died on November 10, 1782. He was one of the seventeen children of John Powney a ship's captain, who died on September 10, 1740, and whose tomb may be seen in the compound of the High Court at Madras. His mother Mrs. Mary Powney was the daughter of Captain George Herron a pilot, and died in Madras on May 7, 1780, aged according to James Augustus Hicky "upwards of one hundred years." She was married on February 15, 1706. The Powney family were close friends of Warren Hastings.

1544. *Richard Becher*—died on November 17, 1782, at the age of 61. He was Fourth of Council and Chief at Dacca in 1756. His first wife, Charlotte Golightly (whom he married on November 29, 1752) and her infant daughter were made prisoner but released and permitted to join the refugees at Fulda where the child died on November 20, 1756. Mrs. Becher died on October 14, 1759 at the age of 21: and her tombstone is one of those placed around the base of the Charnock Mausoleum. Becher was third in Council under Clive in 1759, and Zemindar of Calcutta from September 1767 to May 1768. The inscription upon his tomb tells us that he retired to England "with a competence" in 1774, but "in order to prop the declining credit of a friend he was led to put all to the hazard" and was compelled to return to India in 1781. He was readmitted as a writer but died in poverty.

1599. *Henry Vansittart*—Comptroller of Salt Revenue: died on October 7, 1786, aged 32. Son of Henry Vansittart, Governor of Fort William who was lost on the *Aurora* frigate in 1770. He married on January 27, 1783, Catherine Mary Powney, daughter of Thomas Powney (no. 1525): who married as her second husband in 1791 George Nesbitt Thompson the friend and private secretary of Warren Hastings.

The Daniells in India.

AN ALBUM OF ORIGINAL SKETCHES.

THE Victoria Memorial Hall possesses an oblong royal folio volume of ninety-three original sketches of Indian Scenery by Thomas and William Daniell, executed in water-colours, sepia, and pencil, during the years 1789 to 1792. In twenty-one cases dates are attached, and we are thus enabled to trace in greater detail the various stages of the tour in Upper India which has already been described in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXV, pp. 1—70). We learn also that the artists were in Mysore in May, 1792.

A list of the sketches is subjoined. These have been arranged both chronologically and according to locality, the numbers prefixed indicating the order in which they are placed in the album. Acknowledgment is due to Mr. F. C. Scallan for the industry with which he has identified many of the obscure villages and hamlets at which the Daniells halted, and exercised their talent. In some cases, however, it has been impossible to discover what was meant. Places mentioned in the article to which reference has been made are not again noticed.

- (15) (60) Shahjehanabad [Delhi], 17th February 1789.
- (17) (23) In Firoz Shah's Cotillah, Delhi, 20th February 1789.
- (24) Firoz Shah's Cotillah: window from which Alamgir Sani [sc. the Second] was thrown.
- (31) New Fort, Shahjehanabad, February 22nd 1789.
- (32) Near Selimghur, Delhi.
- (39) Near Shir Shah's Fort, Delhi.
- (13) Subji Mundi near Shahjehanabad, 27th February 1789.
- (53) Near [Shah] Jehanabad, 27th February 1789.
- (56) Mogulpoor near Shahjehanabad, 27th February 1789.
- (5) (46) (b) (66) (67) Old Delhi.
- (30) Observatory, Delhi.
- (63) Delhi, Kutub Minar in the distance.
- (71) Near the Kutub Minar.
- (26) Tomb of Sufdar Jung, Delhi.
- (91) Without title: but representing the mausoleum of Sufdar Jung.
- (28) In the Fort of Tuglukabad.
- (64) (72) Tuglukabad.
- (10) Palace of Jaffer Khan, Delhi, on the Jumna, 3rd March 1789.
- (58) Near Delhi.
- (16) (20) (b) Near Humaion's Tomb, 4th March, 1789.
- (20) (a) Sumbul, 20th March 1789.
- (2) Amroah Gate, Sumbul, Rohilkund.
- (35) Eedgah at Annoah (Amroah) Rohilkund.
- (38) West View of an Eadgah, Amroah.

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- (57) Near Amroa, Rohilkund. (Amrooah).
 - (47) Near Chandpoor, Rohilkund.
 - (14) (a) Khondi, (b) Chandpore.
 - (19) Snowy mountains seen between Chandpoor and Daranugar.
 - (25) Kerutpoor, Rohilkund, 26th March 1789. [Kiratpur, 10 miles north of Bijnor town].
 - (37) On the road to Jafferabad near Nujibabad. [Jafirabad is near Saneh Road Station on the Kotdwara branch railway line: about nine miles north of Najibabad].
 - (44) On the road to Jafferabad near Nujibabad.
 - (40) Near Nijibabad, 28th March 1789.
 - (46) (a) Hill near Nujibabad.
 - (3) (52) Nijibabad, Rihilkund, 28th March 1789.
 - (11) Nujibabad, Jaffer Gunj, formerly belonging to Gholam Kadir. [The Rohilla Chief who blinded the Emperor Shah Alam].
 - (41) Banyan Tree near Jugenowalla above Haridwara. [Jaganwala is about five miles north of Najibabad].
 - (42) Mosque at Nijibabad, 29th March 1789.
 - (9) Ramaghur in the Boujipoor District. [Bhojeepura is north east of Bareilly Junction on the railway line to Pilibhit].
 - (75) Inside the Temple of Sita, Ramghur in the Boujapoor District.
 - (21) (27) Near Afzulghur, Rohilkund. [In the Bijnor District 19 miles east of Nagina Station on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway].
 - (22) Afzulghur.
 - (55) Near Rampoor, Mallick near Dooran, a village a Day's march from Rampore. [Milak, 15 miles south of Rampur].
 - (45) Near Siccar Wollah, Rohilkund, 15th April 1789. [Sakhawala: 12 miles north west of Afzalghur].
 - (43) Near Bugwanpoor. [About 8 miles north east of Roorkee].
 - (76) Mukreeka, near Bugwanpoor.
 - (74) Bissaula, Rohilkund, 29th May 1789.
 - (69) Narranpore near Mirzapoor. [Shrine under a Banyan tree].
 - (61) Monument near Sicrole near Benares.
 - (36) Hindu Temples at Agori on the River Soane.
 - (87) Rotas Ghur, near Rotas.
 - (81) Rotas Ghur, Temple near the Waterfall.
 - (8) Tomb of Akbar Khan, brother of Shere Shah, Chaynpoor, 23rd January 1790.
 - (82) Chaynepoor Hills.
 - (83) Chaynepoor.
 - (6) Gate leading to the Tomb of Atiyar Khan, Chaynpore.
 - (79) (90) Near Shir Ghur, 27th January 1790.
 - (68) Waterfall near Shir gur.
 - (51) Tarachand Koondi near Sasserum, [Tarachandi, 4 miles south of Sasseram].

- (77) Tomb of Sher Shah—Sasserum.
- (33) Emmambarrah, near Tomb of Shire Shah—Sasserum.
- (80) (85) Rajah Deo. [Gaya district]. The second is a hill scene.
- (4) Hindu Temple on a hill near Muddenpore.
- (18) Peepul or Banian Tree and Temple of Budh at Budh Gaya, 4th March 1790.
- (1) Hindu Monument of great Antiquity at Budh Gaya.
- (49) From the Fakir's Rock, Sultangunj.
- (7) Curious Hindu building in one of the rocks, Colgong.
- (73) Banyan Tree on the Banks of the Ganges [see *Oriental Annual*, 1834, p. 104].

The next eight drawings and sketches relate to the Madras Presidency:

- (12) From the Hill, near Ossoor, 4th May 1792. [In the Salem district, Madras Presidency].
- (62) In the Fort of Ossoor—Hamilton's Prison.
- (54) Nundydroog near Bangalore.
- (48) Anchitty, [a "droog" or hill fort in the Bara Mahal: now Anchatu: 35 miles from Bangalore].
- (29) Near Cauveripattam. [Salem District, Madras].
- (50) Near Turva Coondah. [Gurramcondah: an ancient Fort in the Cuddapah district].
- (34) Ginjee. [Fortress in the South Arcot district].
- (59) Shuloge Narain Luckie his wife, Begula Hari, (i) Bishen, (ii) Seeb. [Sculptures at Mahabalipuram].

The following are not intelligible:

- (65) Yar Waffardar. [Hollow tree resembling a cave among foliage].
- (70) Acheen. [Buildings and lake with hills in background].
- (86) Hewyee. [? Gingee: building with round shaped hill in background].
- (89) Wadinellore Mira. [Landscape].

Nos. 78, 86, and 88, are pencil drawings and sketches without titles, and have not been identified.

Sketch No. 61—"In the Fort of Ossoor—Hamilton's Prison"—deserves detailed notice. It is a historical fact, as narrated in Thornton's History of India (Vol. II, pp. 439-440) that Captain Hamilton, a British officer, and two other prisoners were massacred at Ossoor (Hosur) on the approach of Lord Cornwallis's Army in 1791. According to one tradition (see J. J. Cotton's "Monumental Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency," No. 855) Hamilton is said to have been employed by Tippoo Sultan to construct the fortifications, with the assistance of another prisoner, a midshipman. The position chosen happened to be overlooked by a neighbouring hill, and Tippoo, on hearing of the mistake, gave orders for the execution of the two Englishmen.

Our Library Table.

A Hand Book to the Records of the Government of India in the Imperial Record Department: 1748 to 1859. (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch: Rupees Five or Eight Shillings and Three Pence).

This extremely useful and indeed invaluable publication has been prepared in accordance with the terms of the fourth paragraph of the Resolution of the Government of India of November 21, 1919, under which the Indian Historical Records Commission was constituted. The first four chapters deal with the records of the East India Company, the growth of the Secretariats of the Government of India, the system of record keeping, and hints to students who desire to search the records. A list of the records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department is then given, with brief notes, and under appropriate headings. To this is appended a further list of printed publications which relate to the records. We have already had occasion to refer to the admirable manner in which Mr. Abdul Ali, the Keeper, and his staff, discharge their duties. The present hand book affords another illustration of efficiency and accuracy.

Calendar of Persian Correspondence in the Imperial Record Department of the Government of India: Volume IV, 1772-1775. (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch: Rupees Thirteen or Twenty one Shillings).

The first three volumes of this calendar contained a digest of Persian correspondence from 1759 to 1772. In the present volume we obtain a record of events during the first four years the administration of Warren Hastings, who took his seat as President at Fort William in April 1772. The period is brimful of historic interest. The system of land tenure was remodelled and trade relations extended by the mission of Bogle to Bhutan and Tibet and the despatch of ships to Jedda. The depredations committed by gangs of wandering Sannyasis were checked and a series of important judicial reforms was inaugurated. Material changes in foreign policy were also effected: and the power of the Company was substantially increased by the cession in 1775 by Nawab Asaf-ud-daula of the zemindaries of Chait Singh the Raja of Benares—a step which led to the tragedy of 1780. The Rohilla War found a counterpart in the South in the aggressive campaign against Tuljaji the Mahratta Raja of Tanjore. Difficulties with the Court at Poona and the Government at Bombay Castle followed the murder of the Peshwa, Narayan Rao, by his uncle Raghunath Rao. The volume closes with the arrival of the Judges of the Supreme Court and the members of the new Executive Council.

The Ruins of Muhammadpur: by Lalita Prasad Dutt (Gaudiya Press, Calcutta: Annas Eight).

In this little volume Mr. Lalita Prasad Dutt renders an account of a visit paid by him in December 1924 to the great quadrangular enclosure in the Jessore District which was once the fort and palace of the famous Rajah Sitaram Rai. He was inspired to make the pilgrimage by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novel "Sitaram", but does not fail to note that many details are introduced therein which are not historically accurate. According to Sir James Westland's book on Jessore, Sitaram rose to fame in the last years of the seventeenth century in the time of the Bara Bhuiyas or Twelve Landlords of Bengal, of whom Rajah Kedar Rai of Sripur (Cadaray of the Jesuit Letters) and Masnad-i-Ali of Khizarpur near Dacca (Mansondolin) were the most prominent. He was sent by Shaista Khan to subdue the refractory zemindar of Fathabad and as a reward for his success, received the Naldi pargana as his reward. Muhammadpur was selected by him as his headquarters, and strongly fortified. The *Riyazu-s-Salatin* relates that he was defeated in 1712 by the Mogul's deputy (whose authority he had defied) and hanged at Moorshedabad in a cow's hide. The estates passed to the Natore Raj; but Professor J. N. Samaddar in an article contributed in 1910 to *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. V, pp. 236-237) has called attention to some puzzling references in the Government Records which would seem to indicate that Sitaram was still alive in 1764. An English merchant named Rose, who was acting as agent for Hastings in some timber business, is stated to have been murdered near Backergunge by "boat people" who took refuge in "the zemindari of Sitaram." We fancy, however, that the person intended is Daya Ram, the ancestor of the Rajah of Dighapatiya. Mr. Dutt has provided a number of illustrations and tells the story of his visit in interesting, if unpretentious language.



RICHARD BARWELL AND HIS SON :

The Editor's Note Book.

WE reproduce upon the opposite page the painting of Richard Barwell by Sir Joshua Reynolds. It is interesting to learn that the original picture is still in existence. Lord Curzon, in a letter written to the Editor on July 17, 1924, mentioned that a few days earlier he had seen it in the collection of M. Sedelmayer, the Paris picture dealer, and that he had also seen it there in 1905. M. Sedelmayer informed Lord Curzon that he had hitherto asked £10,000 for the picture but was then willing to take £8,000. Lord Curzon's comment was that the price which would be obtained for it at Christie's would vary between £1,200 and £1,500: "so no business was possible". The painting seems at one time to have belonged to Hastings. Writing in January 1781 to his nephew Richard Johnson who was going out to Calcutta, Sir Joshua says: "I am now drawing a whole length of Mr. Barwell and his son for Mr. Hastings. When the picture goes to India I shall write at the same time in your favour". Barwell had resigned his seat in Council on March 3, 1780, and gone to England. The small portrait on the wall in the picture is supposed to be that of Hastings, but the features do not bear much resemblance to his.

ANOTHER of the portraits painted by Tilly Kettle during his residence in Calcutta from 1771 to 1778, has come to light. A Picture by Tilly Kettle. Messrs. Dyer, of Mount Street, Grosvenor Square, London, S. W. 1, have sent to us for identification the photograph of a large picture, measuring seven feet six inches by four feet seven inches, which is in their possession, and which is undoubtedly the work of that artist. Mr. J. J. Cotton, I. C. S., who has seen the original, sends us the following description:

The picture shows two full length figures. A dark-complexioned man on the left is leaning with his arm on the shoulder of a younger man, who is resting his hand on a pillar on the upper part of which are inscribed the words "Kettle Pinxt, 1773". The figure on the left is dressed in red, that on the right in light green. Both wear full-bottomed coats and waistcoats, knee-breeches, white stockings, white neckcloths and ruffles at the neck and wrists, and black shoes with gold buckles. The knee-breeches terminate in gold garters and there are gold braided button holes on the waistcoat of the younger. The pose is easy and natural. In the left background are palm trees, water and a distant view of mountains. Behind the pillar are a tree and foliage.

THE picture was purchased at the sale of the effects of a deceased dealer in Hampshire, and Messrs. Dyer inform us that it is supposed to represent "Captain Sealy and Warren Hastings." The ascription to Hastings may be rejected at once. But the two young men are evidently brothers and the reference to "Captain Sealy" supplies a clue. Charles Sealy, who was the great grandfather of the Earl of Northbrook (Viceroy from 1872 to 1876) was Registrar of the Mayor's Court in Calcutta from 1773 to 1774, when he was appointed Registrar of the Supreme Court. And it so happens that Captain John Sealy, of the *Northington* Indiaman, was in Calcutta also during the year 1773. The ship sailed from the Downs on January 29, 1773, on a voyage to the "Coast and Bay" and reached Culpee on July 30. She remained there until November 24 when she moved down to Hijili and sailed on December 28, returning to her home moorings on July 14, 1774. In the year following (1775) the ship was under the command of Captain John Durand (who is mentioned by William Hickey: Vol. II, p. 172) and was employed on the Bombay coast. The features of the younger man in the picture bear a close similarity to those of Charles Sealy in middle age, as exhibited in the portrait presented to the Vestry of St. John's Church by Lord Northbrook during his Viceroyalty. As regards the elder, there is a portrait at Stratton, near Winchester (the seat of the present Lord Northbrook) to which Messrs. Dyer draw our attention, measuring 35 inches by 25 inches, which is, somewhat indistinctly, inscribed "Captain Sealy," but which represents a dark-complexioned man whose resemblance to the figure in red is remarkable.

FROM the latest volume of Persian correspondence published by the Imperial Record Department, we obtain another glimpse of Tilly Kettle. Munny Begum writes to the Governor-General on November 2, 1774 that she "will send the Nawab's portrait after having it painted by Mr. Kettle, a gentleman skilled in painting". The picture appears to have been completed without delay, for on November 17 in the same year, Hastings acknowledges the receipt of "the portrait of Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daulah". We have been unable to trace the painting, but it should be capable of easy identification. Mubarak-ud-Daulah, who was the son of Mir Jafar and Babbu Begam, ascended the Musnud of Murshidabad in 1770 and was succeeded in 1793 by his son Babar Jang.

SIR WILLIAM FOSTER has been good enough to send us the following notes regarding Tilly Kettle's application to the Court of Directors for leave to proceed to India. The application is dated August 31, 1768: leave was given on September 21: and securities were furnished on September 27. Kettle must have returned to England by December 5, 1776, for he applies on that date for leave to take delivery of five paintings which had been sent from Bengal on the *Hillsborough*.

Munni Begum
and Kettle.

Kettle's Residence
in India.

STUDENTS of the Memoirs of William Hickey will recall the account in the second volume (pp. 147 to 150) of the case which arose out of the forcible acquisition by Colonel Henry Watson under cover of a grant from the Company, of various plots of land which he required for his docks at Watgunge. "Gocool Chunder Gosaul, a man of opulence," was one of those dispossessed and (says Hickey) being encouraged thereto by Barwell, commenced an action in the Supreme Court—John Doe on the demise of Kissen Chunder Gosaul and Gocool Chunder Gosaul versus Henry Watson—by way of ejectment for recovery of a narrow strip of land leading to the waterside which was used by him and his family when going to bathe in the river. Hickey acted as attorney for Watson and persuaded the Government to take up the case. In a letter from Watson to the Governor-General in Council dated January 23, 1779, he is described as "the Attorney employed on the part of the Company", North Naylor who was the Company's official solicitor having been engaged by Gocool. The hearing began, Hickey tells us, at nine o'clock in the morning of February 6, 1779, and judgment was given by Sir Elijah Impey in favour of the plaintiff at eight o'clock in the evening. The result was to stop further progress at the docks, as the strip of land ran directly through the centre of the works. Gocool Gosaul died a few months later: for we find in the *Annual Register* for 1783 (p. 167) a letter of eight columns written from Calcutta by Joseph Cator to Major Thomas Pearson on July 25, 1779, in which is given "a particular account of a Hindoo woman burning herself alive with her deceased husband." The dead man was "a Bramin, Gocool Chunder Gosaul, Mr. Verelst's banian," and the *suttee* was "his first wife Tarrynell, (sic) aged about 22." John Shakespear, Cator's companion, "had an esteem" for Gocool, whose nephew Joynarain Gosaul was his banian. "The burning took place last Wednesday afternoon at Coolyghaut, a little village about a mile higher up the creek and about two and a half miles from Calcutta;" and "Mr. Shakespear and I were in the front of the circle and had a perfect view of the scene." John Shakespear was the father of John Talbot Shakespear (writer 1800) who married Emily Thackeray in Calcutta in 1803, and whose son was Colonel Sir Richmond Campbell Shakespear 1812-1861). Joseph Cator was a protégé of Barwell and married Diana Bertie who came out to India in 1777 with her sister Anne and Hickey on board the *Seahorse* Indiaman (See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 161: Vol. XXVIII, p. 205.) Joynarain's descendants became well-known in Calcutta as the Ghosals of Bhukoylash, and the heads of the family, such as Raja Satya Deb Ghosal, figured prominently at one time in all social functions.

ANOTHER "authentic account of the Burning of a Gentoo Woman with her Husband at her own Request at Azimabad" may be found in an earlier volume of the *Annual Register* (1777: page 45 appendix). It is introduced in the following words:

A *Suttee* at Patna in 1776. *

It being asserted by Mr. Guthrie in his *Geographical Grammar* (p. 536) and some other authors that the custom of the Gentoo Woman burning themselves with their deceased (sic) husbands was disused in India, I desire that you would insert the following extract of a letter from Mr. Joseph Wilson at Azumebad (lately called Cansbaug) in the Kingdom of Bengal, by which it appears that custom is still kept up: and practised. I give it in his own words.

The letter is signed "John Wilson, March 1, 1777, Broomhead," and the narrative is headed "The Account of Jananca, wife of Otram Gose, who was burnt alive with her husband September 2, 1776, at the head of the Buzar at Cansbaug." Azimabad is the modern Patna. "Cansbaug" which is a corruption of Khan's Bagh, would appear to be the spot mentioned in Walter Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer* (1828: Vol. II, p. 380) as Jaffier Khan's garden "about the extremities of the suburbs" of Patna. We are indebted to Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., for both the references to the *Annual Register*.

THE story is well known of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy's visit to England in 1830 and of his death at Bristol on September 27, 1833.

An Indian Clerk
at the Board of
Control.

But the adventures of his adopted son Rajah Ram, who accompanied him, may be new to some. After his father's death, Rajah Ram came to London and applied to Sir John Hobhouse, who was then President of the Board of Control, for an appointment in his office, "requesting that the opportunity may be afforded him previously to his return to his native country of acquiring an insight into the mode in which the public business is transacted in England." He was appointed in August 1835 for one year as an extra clerk on a salary of £100, but a writership in Bengal was refused to him. In Alexander's "East India Magazine" for July to December 1836 (Vol. 12, p. 568) the following extract from the *Hurkaru* may be found—

We hear that the Court of Directors have refused to confirm the nomination to a Bengal writership by the President of the Board of Control, of the adopted son of the late respected Rammohan Roy: and that the refusal of the Court will be brought before Parliament.

Rajah Ram, however, retained his post in the Board's office for nearly three years: and when he then expressed a desire to return to India, he was allowed to draw his salary to the end of the third year and received in addition a donation of £100 "in consideration of his diligence in the discharge of his duties and the circumstances under which he accompanied his father to this country." Details of his subsequent career are wanting, but it is believed that he died young. He was an orphan and was brought up by the Rajah as his own son, although never adopted according to the strict letter of the Hindoo law. Sir William Foster, it may be added, was the first to recall this interesting incident of the employment of an Indian

at the Board of Control in a paper read before the Royal Historical Society on November 10, 1916.

RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY'S actual son, Rama Prosad, was a distinguished pleader in the days when the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut sat and dispensed justice in the present British Station Hospital building opposite the Race-course. He acted as Legal Remembrancer and was appointed a Judge of the High Court at Fort William upon its establishment in 1862, but died before he could take his seat. The honour of being the first Indian Judge of the High Court fell to Shambhunath Pandit, who was appointed in 1863 and died in 1867.

AN interesting glimpse into the materials from which the Indian Civil Service was recruited in the early thirties of last century is afforded by the following extract from Alexander's "East India Magazine" for 1834 (Vol. 7, p. 93):

The Civil Service
in 1834.

Of the number of writers appointed from home in the last five years three were sons of noblemen, eight were baronet's sons, twenty one sons of clergymen, forty six sons of Company's civil servants, seventy four sons of officers in the Company's army, thirty-seven sons of officers in his Majesty's army or navy, one hundred and forty six sons of merchants bankers professional men and private gentlemen, and eight sons of Directors.

INTERESTING particulars were given in the *Deeside Field* for 1922 regarding Anthony Mactier, a well-known character in Calcutta from 1802 to 1825. During the whole of that period he held the triple office under the Supreme Court of sworn clerk, Clerk of the Papers and Clerk of the Depositions; and from 1803 to 1813 he acted as Examiner in addition. He was the son of a small farmer in Wigtonshire and entered the office of Mr. Alexander Walker, a lawyer in Edinburgh. By him he was recommended to Sir John Anstruther, who was appointed to succeed Sir Robert Chambers as Chief Justice in 1799, and accompanied him to Calcutta. There he amassed a large fortune, as the result (we may suppose) of judicious investments, and when in 1834 the estate of Durris on Deeside passed from the possession of the Dukes of Gordon, he was able to purchase it for £110,000. His occupancy of the estate which, when he acquired it, was a bare spot with scanty cultivation, lasted until 1854. A long and thorough series of improvements were carried out. Mactier supervised every detail, and it is estimated that from first to last, he spent more than £100,000. The navies who worked for him called him "Old Brimstone", on account of the great yellow coach in which he used to ride. By the people of Durris and Lower Deeside he was supposed to have been a pirate: and in confirmation of this the story went that his skull had been cracked in some hand-to-hand encounter and mended with a silver clasp. His powerful frame and bluff manner were advanced

A Deeside Laird
from Calcutta.

as additional proof: and if the listener was still sceptical, mention would be made of the great sea-chest with its enormous iron bands, which is still at Durris House and which was said to be full of silver bullion brought from the East.

MR. R. B. RAMSBOTHAM writes: On page 133 of the first volume of Lord Curzon's book, the statement is made in a footnote that "an Arcot rupee was worth double a sicca rupee."

Arcot and Sicca
Rupees.

Thus must surely be a mistake. A sicca rupee was a new rupee that had been only three years in circulation, after which it became a sonaut (or sanwat) rupee. Of Arcot rupees there were several kinds: and, taking 100 siccās as the test, their respective values were as follows: 100 Forshee Arcots equalled 97-6-6 siccās, 100 French Arcots 97 siccās, 100 new Madras Arcots 96-4-9 siccās, 100 old Madras Arcots 95-15-6 siccās, 100 Jahangiri Arcots 95-11-3 siccās, 100 Chaunta Arcots 95-11-3 siccās, 100 Calcutta and Moorshedabad Arcots 95-6-6 siccās, 100 old Arcots 95-3-3 siccās, 100 Duth Arcots 95 siccās, 100 Surat Arcots 94 siccās. Not one of these ten different varieties of Arcot are superior in value to the sicca.

A CURIOUS discovery is reported by Mr. J. J. Cotton, who has been collating the two sets of Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*, which are in the India Office Library, with the copies in the British Museum and the Imperial Library at Calcutta. In each copy there is a "cut" at the right hand corner of the fourth page of no. 13 of volume II.

Hickey's "Bengal
Gazette".

ENQUIRY is being made by Messrs. Hurst and Blackett, the publishers of the *Memoirs of William Hickey*, for an authentic engraving or photograph of a picture by W. Thomas, representing Hickey with his favourite Indian servant and a dog, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1820. Hickey left Calcutta in 1808, wrote his memoirs in England between 1809 and 1820, and died in 1830.

William Hickey.

